



Risky Business:  
Eliot Spitzer's  
Self-Destruction



Campaign Fact-Check:  
What Did Hillary  
Do as First Lady?

Nancy Gibbs on  
Seven Deadly Sins  
For Our Times

# TIME

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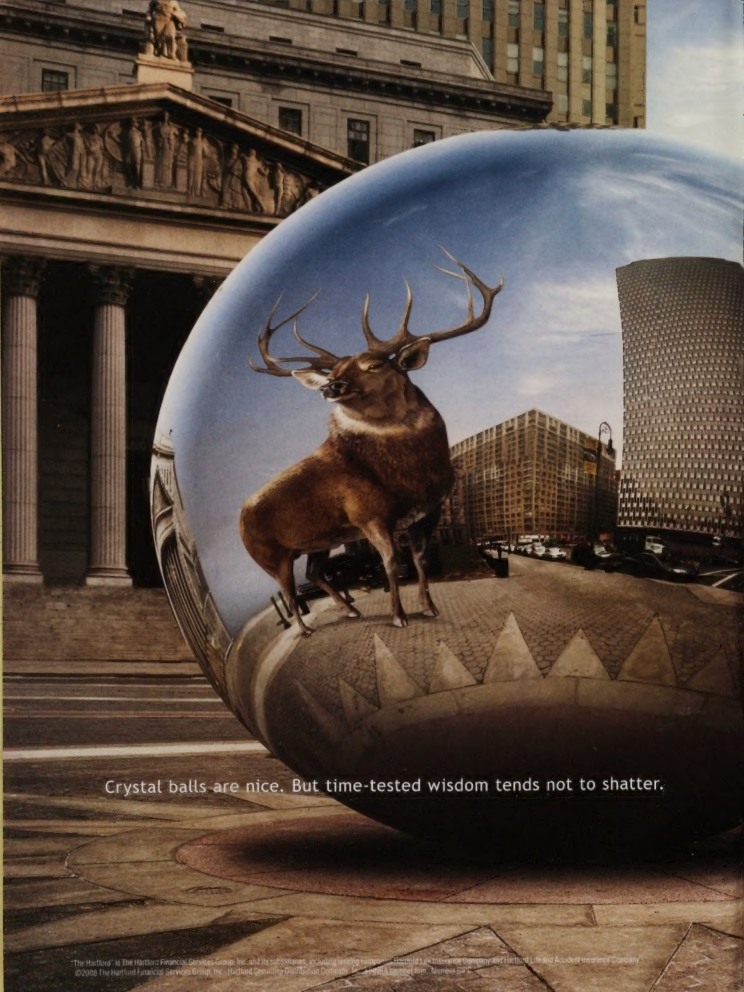


## Ideas that are changing the world

Revolutions are happening all around us.  
Here's what you need to know about the future of:

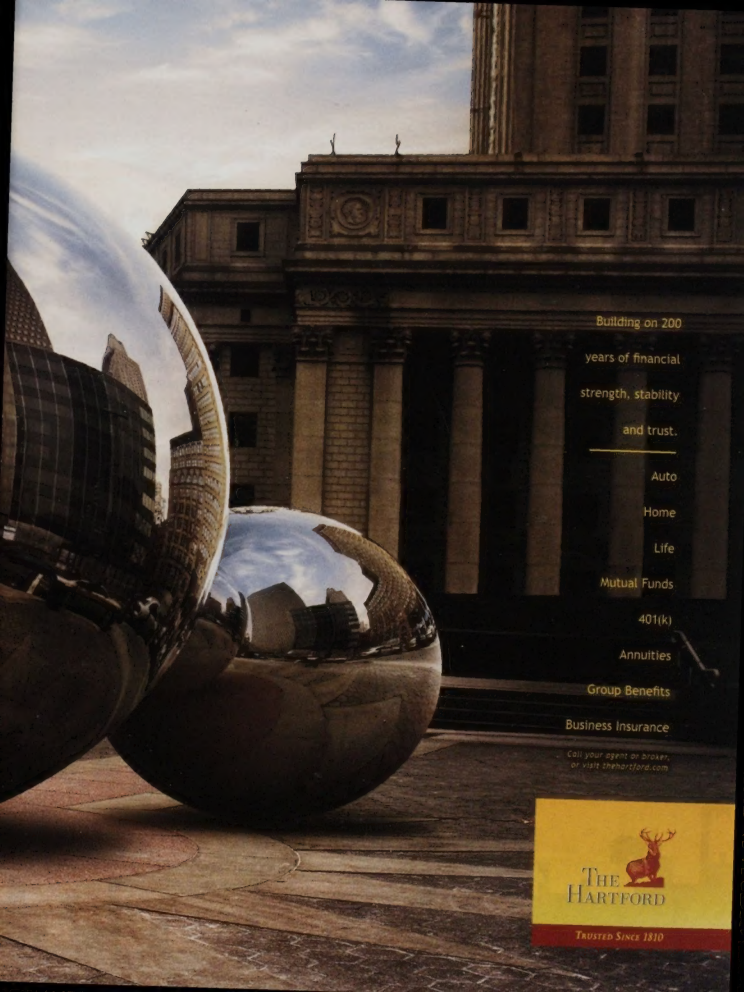
■ THE ENVIRONMENT ■ THE ECONOMY ■ TECHNOLOGY ■ RELIGION

**PLUS:** Common Wealth for a  
Crowded Planet *By Jeffrey D. Sachs*



Crystal balls are nice. But time-tested wisdom tends not to shatter.

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### **A Greenhouse Gusher**

Algae oil could well be the fuel of the future, according to Glen Kertz, principal scientist for Vertigro Energy, a joint venture that is growing oil-rich algae by pumping it through clear plastic bags suspended in a greenhouse. The algae produced by this closed-loop bioreactor process is then siphoned off so that lipids can be extracted and refined into fuels like biodiesel.

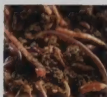
The El Paso, Texas facility is also conducting sophisticated algae research. Kertz expects that the project will soon be able to identify which algae are best suited for specific uses. Kertz says the process can produce 100,000 gallons of algae oil per acre, per year. That compares to corn, which yields only about 20 gallons per acre. What is the potential impact? Take one-tenth of the state of New Mexico and convert it to greenhouse algae production, and the result would be enough oil to meet the transportation needs of the entire U.S., he says.



### **Carbon-Neutral Fishing**

The Miami Beach Sailfish Tournament produces a lot

of CO<sub>2</sub>—roughly 200 tons, according to Dan Kipnis, founder of the event. To offset the impact of fuel used by boat engines, travel to the tournament, and the manufacture of tournament T-shirts, this year corporate sponsors bought carbon credits, which will help fund a methane capture project.



### **Metal-Eating Worms**

Dr. Suneet Dabke has big plans for the ordinary earthworm,

which he says can remove toxic waste from contaminated soil. A recent pilot project in India used 300,000 worms to clean four acres of waste. A year later, the soil showed a 60% reduction in heavy metals. Once they've done their work, the worms are sifted out of the soil and burned.



### **Winds of Change**

Calgary is known as an oil town, but Mayor Dave Bronconnier is busy promoting

the city's brand-new \$140 million wind farm. The new facility lets the city power 75% of its municipal operations with green energy. That percentage is targeted to rise to 90% by 2012, Bronconnier says. The wind farm has the capacity to produce enough energy to power about 32,000 homes.

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**Daybreak.** By Mikhail Gorbachev.

I pour myself a cup of tea and scan the papers for familiar faces.  
My bags are barely unpacked and I'm feeling slightly at a loss,  
as it dawns on me that I'm actually at home for a change.

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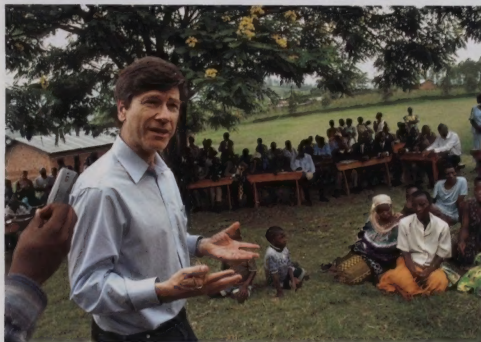
On the cover: Photo-Illustration for TIME by Arthur  
Hochstein. Insets, from left: Andrew Harrer—Bloomberg  
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To Our Readers

**The Power of Ideas.** Changing the world requires innovative thinking. How 10 novel concepts are transforming the way we live



**Forward thinkers** Sachs, left, talks with villagers in Ruhirra, Uganda; project editor Grossman, above; ABC's Charles Gibson, below

IDEAS CHANGE THE WORLD. THE POWER of a new idea is the engine that transforms the way we live and think. (Our country was founded on one.) It was almost 50 years ago that the philosopher Thomas Kuhn coined the term *paradigm shift*—the moment when our worldview fundamentally changes because of a new idea, as when people understood that the sun does not revolve around the earth or that climate change is altering the way we would all have to live.

Our new idea—and for it, we can thank senior writer Lev Grossman, who edited the cover package—is the magazine you are holding, an issue devoted to the theories and concepts that are reshaping our world. TIME is collaborating with ABC's *World News with Charles Gibson*, which is airing a two-part series on how technology is changing our daily routines and how the revolution in genetics may lead to a revolution in health.



The 10 ideas we write about are all paradigm shifts, all new ways of thinking about things that we deal with every day. The first piece contains the largest idea of all and perhaps the simplest: economist Jeffrey Sachs' notion that we can find solutions to the century's most pressing global problems—poverty, hunger, disease, the environment—as long as we think of ourselves as a single group or entity and not as a collection of competing nation-states. Sachs' provocative and inspiring essay is adapted from his new book, *Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet*.

The ideas we explore are wide-ranging but affect all of us. John Cloud explores how the idea of authenticity—we know it when we see it (or at least we think we do)—is shaping not only our consumer culture but also the presidential campaign. Amanda Ripley explores how counterterrorism experts are us-

ing former terrorists to prevent the radicalization of new ones. Bryan Walsh has a fascinating piece about the idea of geoengineering: how, instead of fixing or curing the earth, we might re-engineer it on a massive scale to solve climate change. Other pieces include Justin Fox's take on the coming era of austerity; David Van Biema on the re-Judaizing of Jesus and what it means for mainstream religion; Barbara Kiviat's essay on the death of customer service; and Joel Stein's tour of the new kitchen, in which the science of chemistry and the art of cooking are revolutionizing the way we make dinner. You can't get closer to home than that.

*Rick*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR





# Eni Award 2008

Eni announces the winners of the 2008 Eni Award, aimed to promote Research and Technology Innovation in the field of energy and its conversion, with particular focus on renewable sources.

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**10 Questions.** For 24 years, the NBA commissioner has helped globalize pro basketball. And this year's compelling season could lift the league out of a ratings funk.

## David Stern will now take your questions



**What was your lowest point as commissioner, and your highest point?**

*Luiz Dias, FORT WORTH, TEXAS*  
The worst has probably been having to suspend players for life for failing drug tests. Another was being at the announcement that Magic [Johnson] was HIV positive, when we expected to lose him. [The best] has been watching the U.S. and the world embrace the athletes of the NBA, who had earlier been described as "too black" for us to succeed.

**How will you ensure that the NBA doesn't face baseball's problem with steroids?**

*Mike Diaz, BROOKLYN, N.Y.*  
We test every athlete four times, at random, between the beginning of training camp and the end of the postseason. We contract that work out to

an independent agency. We think it's working pretty well, although you never know until you read the newspapers.

**Why would you let the Seattle SuperSonics relocate to Oklahoma City? You're moving away from an Asian-Pacific community to a much less diverse place. Can you explain your logic?**

*John Holm, BUDAPEST*  
I guess my logic is that there are plenty of franchises that have jumping-off points to Asia. It could be the Bay Area; it could be Portland; it could be Los Angeles. And our Asian philosophy is more about being there. We have offices in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Beijing.

**Many commentators openly allege that star players get favorable treatment from**

**referees. Why has there been so little response from the NBA to this problem?**

*Madison Welch, ARLINGTON, VA.*  
The criticism is not true. We have data to demonstrate that superstars don't get that treatment. I've just been hesitant to hold a press conference to announce the obvious.

**Do you think the courtside dress code you put in place [in 2005] has had a positive effect?**

*Michael Blackwell, CEDAR FALLS, IOWA*  
I do. I viewed it as an opportunity to say to our players that there is this issue of respect, and we just have to wake up and focus on that. It's not the draconian dress code that people came to believe it was. You would have thought I'd said you had to wear a tuxedo or tails to a game.

**Can you do anything to increase the number of game telecasts in India? We get only two games a week, which stinks.**

*Wamiqur Rehman Gajdhari, NEW DELHI*

I completely agree. We're having intense negotiations now. In July our Basketball Without Borders, a clinic bringing in outstanding young talent from around Asia, is going to be held in New Delhi. So we're very interested in getting more games in the Indian market.

**How do you stay sane when watching a cornerstone franchise like the New York Knicks embody utter incompetence?**

*Brian Smith, FORT WORTH, TEXAS*

We've had teams go through bad competitive cycles. I know the Knicks have had a rough stretch, but I tend to be an optimist and think success is right around the corner.

**Will the NBA attempt to push back the minimum age to 20 [from 19] when the collective-bargaining agreement expires in 2011?**

*Kirk Henderson, WASHINGTON*

Yes, we will. We think [raising the entry age to 19] has been very constructive.

**Which NBA player do you enjoy watching most?**

*Ryan Gill, PORTLAND, ORE.*  
I refuse to answer that. That's between me, the closed door and my high-definition Dolby surround-sound television set.

**When was the last time you suited up and played ball?**

*Burke Hair, CHICAGO*  
That's a tough one. I quit 15 years ago, after my sons began to take away my advantage of using my behind to push them away from the basket. ■



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# Business Books.

How a family feud between two Bavarian shoemakers changed the world of sports. Plus: a guide to the world's über-élite and tips for getting all the way to No. 2

BY ANDREA SACHS



## Sneaker Wars

By Barbara Smit  
Ecco; 383 pages

WHAT DOES DAVID BECKHAM's superstardom have to do with a pair of warring Bavarian brothers in the early 1900s? More

than you think, according to this compelling book. Smit tells the story of Adi and Rudi Dassler, partners after World War I in a sports-shoe factory in tiny Herzogenaurach, Germany. The two got their spiked running shoes onto the feet of Olympic star Jesse Owens in 1936, but a bitter family feud soon split their business in half, resulting in the founding of Adidas (Adi's outfit) and Puma (Rudi's company). The whole town got into the act, says the author: "People always looked down, because they were careful to see what shoes others were wearing before they started a conversation."

By the mid-1950s, both firms had developed into respected sporting goods companies with small but loyal followings in the U.S. But it would take the next generation of Dasslers to take Adidas' distinctive three-striped shoes and, eventually, clothing to an unheard-of level of international success, outpacing Puma. Adi's son Horst did an end run around the rules preventing Olympic athletes from accepting compensation by giving them free shoes. It worked: at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, more than 70 of the track medals were won by athletes wearing those three-striped shoes. As a result, Horst was able to establish himself firmly in the international sports business.

Although that feud is part of sports lore, the saga of Adidas also holds insights into the durability of a global brand.

Adidas survived corporate intrigue, near bankruptcy and being outmarketed and overtaken by Nike. It is still the No. 2 maker of sporting goods in the world.

Nike may have perfected it, but celebrity sponsorship was the ticket to the top



for both Adidas and the smaller Puma. Jets quarterback Joe Namath paraded around Manhattan in the 1970s in his swanky white Puma sneakers, and fans bought hundreds of thousands of pairs. Namath had an unprecedented deal: \$25,000 a year, plus 25¢ for each shoe sold. Quaint, isn't it? The competition for star endorsers would define the battle for sporting-goods supremacy. By the time soccer star Beckham signed on in 2007, Adidas committed to a lifetime deal reportedly worth more than \$600 million. Says author Smit: "It was the ultimate destination of a ride that had taken sports from jolly amateurism to unapologetic greed." Isn't that also known as competition?



## Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They Are Making

By David Rothkopf  
Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 376 pages

THERE ARE JUST OVER 6,000 people in the superclass. So says the author of this fascinating book, a field guide to the world's most elite citizens. See the rich and powerful in their natural habitats, from Davos and

Bilderberg to the Bohemian Grove. "That such a group exists is indisputable," says Rothkopf, who includes such power brokers as heads of state, CEOs of the world's largest companies, billionaire entrepreneurs and even a handful of terrorist leaders. Is there a master list? Yep, but the author is a tease. "The day after it was published, it would be obsolete." No fair!



## Why Should the Boss Listen to You?

By James E. Lukaszewski  
Jossey-Bass; 188 pages

MOST BUSINESS BOOKS counsel readers on how to get a corner office. But here comes a book for the aspiring second banana. The author sets forth the seven (of course, seven) disciplines of the trusted adviser. These include commonsense attributes such as thinking strategically, developing a management perspective and advising constructively. The payoff for being influential, says Lukaszewski, is having power. "Actually seeing your recommendations become marching orders is something amazing to behold and to achieve," he writes. But don't forget: the boss always gets the credit.





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# Postcard: Moscow.

In Putin's Russia, where the government faces almost no opposition, one tabloid is crusading against the rich and powerful. **At work with Moscow's muckrakers**

BY PETER SAVODNIK

**T**HE NEWSROOM AT MOSCOW'S *Novaya Gazeta* does not feel like a battleground. It's a series of cramped, fluorescent-lit offices, as quiet as a library in the hallways. But behind the closed doors, there's energy. Young journalists (average age: around 30) pore over the stories and photographs that will make the next day's issue of a newspaper in a very dangerous business—being the most strident voice of opposition in Vladimir Putin's Russia.

For a taste of the paper's editorial outlook, just talk to Dmitri Muratov, its editor in chief. "Putin has created the largest, richest bureaucracy in the world, and the funds have been sucked out of society," Muratov calls the *siloviki*—the strong arm factions that make up much of the Defense Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the secret police—a "business, whose only concern is hoarding money."

These are, in Russian terms, declarations of war, and *Novaya Gazeta* has the casualties to show for it. In 2000, reporter Igor Domnikov was beaten to death; in 2003, deputy editor Yuri Shchekochikhin was fatally poisoned; and in 2006, reporter Anna Politkovskaya, famous for her coverage of the second Chechen war, was shot to death.

The paper still relishes its role as a combatant. There is no pretext of objectivity. *Novaya Gazeta* may be pro-Western, but the kind of journalism the paper churns out would hardly sit well at a newspaper in, say, the U.S., where reporters are expected to see both sides. Here reporters are expected not so much to unearth news as to find information that corroborates what everyone in the newsroom already believes: the Kremlin is bad; the security apparatus is bad; the intelligentsia is good; the Westernizers and liberals are right.

In the West, there is a widespread and



**Making the news** Reporters at the *Novaya Gazeta* have seen three colleagues murdered since 2000

probably incorrect assumption that someone in the Kremlin had those journalists killed because they said (or were on the verge of saying) bad things about Putin. This belief is premised on another false assumption—that *Novaya Gazeta* poses a threat to the Kremlin. The paper claims a weekly readership of 1 million, but its ardently anti-Putin voice clearly has limited influence. In the recent presidential election, the main liberal candidate got

1.3% of the vote, while Putin's hand-picked successor, Dmitri Medvedev, won more than 70%. As for Politkovskaya's death, it may have prompted international outrage, but in Russia practically no one cared.

In that context, the Kremlin is almost certainly helped more than hurt by Muratov and his eager, angry young journalists. There is no better way to defend against charges of repression than to point to a fully functioning newspaper that never has anything good to say about you. Says Kremlin spokesman Dmitri Peskov: "When people say Russia has no free media, they totally forget about the existence of *Novaya Gazeta*."

Certainly, this paper is quite liberal, very frequently opposing the official point of view... We can't always agree with what is being published, but this is a normal relationship between official bodies and the media." In other words, All you moralizing Westerners, our press is just as rambunctious as yours.

But even if the Kremlin deftly uses *Novaya Gazeta* as a shield, there is still no other voice with the same capacity to show Russian events and power players through an alternate prism.

Consider a recent issue featuring a front-page photo of Health and Social Development Minister Tatiana Golikova sporting pricey pinstripes, a jewel-encrusted cross and what looks like a chic Italian handbag. On the inside of the paper, reporter Roman Shleynov has a detailed piece (headlined *SUPER FAMILY*) on Golikova; her husband, Industry and Energy Minister Viktor Khristenko; and their son Vladimir, now working at a metals outfit run by one of his parents' cronies.

That's *Novaya Gazeta* at its best: half-tabloid, half-investigative paper, riddled with biases—and still Moscow's premier outlet for speaking truth to power. ■

#### GLOBAL DISPATCH

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# Inbox



## Lessons on Leadership

THE COVER STORY ABLY EXAMINED the many ways experience can be manifested [March 10]. Senator Hillary Clinton prides herself on her experience and claims that she would "be ready from Day One" to be our next President. However, her campaign's failure to adequately plan strategically and financially for post-Super Tuesday proves she is incapable of being ready on Day Two. On the other hand, Senator Barack Obama, despite his alleged inexperience, has surrounded himself with extraordinary talent and had a string of primary victories. The way these two candidates have managed their respective campaigns speaks volumes about required experience.

Steve Charing  
CLARKSVILLE, MD.

and demographically conflicting views and needs. Clinton brings to the table detailed programs and objectives. She might not be so exciting, but she is definitely what the doctor ordered.

Barry Stevens  
ARLINGTON, TEXAS

### MAILBAG

**Biggest mail getter:** Does experience matter?



Fresh ideas are more vital—some of our best Presidents lacked strong résumés



Experience is crucial—there's no time to learn on the job in the White House

## Hoops and Homework

THE CALTECH BASKETBALL PLAYERS are the real deal [March 10]. So what if they can't win? When they graduate, they will be able to say that they earned their degrees honestly. They not only will know what theoretical physics is but will also be able to spell it.

Laurie Viscusi  
LOUDONVILLE, N.Y.

## Misguided Makeovers?

I WAS APPALLED BY THE article "How Not to Look Old on the Job" [March 10]. I thought it

might give me some useful tips on clothing, hairstyles or keeping up with the latest technology. Instead it offered men and women advice on neck tucks, butt lifts, hand makeovers and earlobe repairs. Aging is inevitable—why deny it? What happened to getting and keeping a job because you are good at it? It is our values that need a serious overhaul.

Linda Bender, RIVERTON, WYO.

OBAMA BRINGS A REFRESHING AIR OF EXUBERANCE to the campaign, but where are the details of his programs? Is he waiting to see which way the wind blows before he enlightens the public with clear, concise and executable programs? We cannot afford on-the-job training and haphazardly laid-out programs. We need a leader as direct and consistent as any politician can be in today's world of special-interest groups

**'For once, an article mentioned a college for academics first and sports last. Caltech and its basketball team should be proud for breaking the mold.'**

Boghos N. Saattjian, LOS ANGELES

For the fun of it *The Beavers* are better at hitting the books than hitting three-pointers



## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ A March 17 story incorrectly stated that University of Chicago law professor Cass Sunstein had "braced" for an argument when Barack Obama called to discuss the President's interpretation of the FISA law. In fact, Sunstein did not expect an argument.

## Bush's Secret Mission

I REALLY LOVED BOB GELDOPF'S ARTICLE about President George W. Bush's policies on Africa [March 3]. Geldopf made clear his opinion of Bush, but in the course of the article he also paid homage to some good the President has done. I am a fan of the President (barely), and even I didn't know about the success in Africa. Too bad Bush doesn't have enough p.r. savvy to put a spotlight on this proud legacy.

Fred Ascher, LOS ANGELES

I HAD TO LAUGH OUT LOUD WHEN I READ that "the continent's rebirth is the Bush Administration's greatest achievement." Is that the continent where there has been war after war within the past eight years, perhaps hundreds of thousands have been killed in Darfur, Kenya has been destabilized and the U.S. would not fund the distribution of condoms as the cheapest way to fight AIDS? Most of the poverty fighting in Africa has been done by private citizens or organizations.

Christine Halpin, ANSONIA, CONN.

## Don't Knock Nader!

I HAVE BEEN AN OBAMA SUPPORTER SINCE spring 2007, but [Joel Stein's essay made me want to vote for Ralph Nader in November [March 10]. Stein's disrespect for Nader was shameful. Nader has served the people of this country more courageously than any of the current Democratic or Republican candidates have.

Eleanor Cox, IOWA CITY, IOWA



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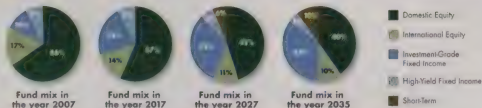


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# Briefing

## THE MOMENT



## Foul Play. As the Olympics draw near, China launches a vigorous crackdown on dissent

CAMPAIGNING FOR THE HONOR of hosting the 2008 Summer Olympics, Chinese officials offered vague assurances about learning to respect human rights. But the lessons have not sunk in. Hu Jia, an imprisoned writer, will soon stand trial on the un-Jeffersonian charge of "inciting subversion of state power." His apparent crime: writing a statement saying that the skyscrapers and venues on display in Beijing from Aug. 8 to 24 rest on a foundation of "tears, imprisonment, torture and blood." Hu's co-author, Teng

Biao, was plucked from the street by four men in plain clothes and interrogated for 41 hours. "Before they let me out," a shaky Teng explained to TIME's Simon Elegant, "they told me I should 'speak as little as possible.'"

The Games have often been symbolic wars dressed in short pants. Beijing views this summer as its superpower debut, and the central government won't let separatists or free-thinking dissidents undermine its lockstep message. "At the highest levels," says China analyst Russell Leigh Moses,

"showing some teeth is much more viable than marching off into the unknown of reform."

But freedom is a muscle that strengthens with proper exercise. On March 10 and 11, monks took to the streets in Tibet demanding autonomy for their region. It was the largest demonstration there since

underscore the fact that China, too, is bound by the laws and limitations of economic development. Haile Gebrselassie of Ethiopia, world-record holder in the marathon, won't run that event in Beijing for fear that the foul air could damage his health.

It's a strange time for the U.S. State Department to drop China from its list of the world's 10 worst human rights violators. Evidently a decision was made not to inflame tensions. World leaders will gather respectfully as the athletes march into competition. As for the Chinese dissidents, perhaps they can take heart from a bit of ancient wisdom: The race is not always to the swift.

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE

## The Games have often been symbolic wars dressed in short pants

1989. Meanwhile, the banner of China's robust economy shows signs of fraying just as the government prepares to run it up the Olympic flagpole. Inflation, contaminated goods and industrial pollution all



HUAI'AN, CHINA

China will keep one-child policy for another decade



TEHRAN

Iranians to vote for eighth parliament since 1979 revolution

NORTON SOUND

Defending cham

# Dashboard

## WASHINGTON MEMO

AS A NAVY pilot, Admiral William (Fox)

Fallon, chief of U.S. Central Command and the senior military commander in the Middle East, liked to push the envelope in the air—and in his comments on U.S. policy in the region. But a profile in the April issue of *Esquire* pushed a bit too far. It portrayed Fallon as “brazenly challenging” the Bush Administration’s “ill-advised” push for war with Iran—and the admiral’s cooperation with its author carried a whiff of insubordination.

On March 11, Defense Secretary Robert Gates announced Fallon’s resignation over the “distraction” caused by a “misperception” of a clash between the admiral and the White House.

Fallon is not alone among senior officers in saying that the confrontation with Iran should be resolved diplomatically. But he has sailed close to the wind in his public comments. Speaking to al-Jazeera network last fall, he criticized the “constant

drumbeat of conflict” out of Washington over Iran, calling the rhetoric “not helpful and not useful.”

While Pentagon officials insist the decision to leave was his, Fallon’s backers say his exit is proof that the Administration brooks no dissent on matters of war and peace. “Bush says he’ll listen to commanders in



the field,” a retired admiral says, “unless they say something he doesn’t like, and then he fires them.” (Fallon was aware of the article’s explosive potential; he called Gates before the

Defense Secretary had seen it and warned him to “brace himself.”)

Still, the betting inside the Pentagon is that despite Fallon’s departure, war with Iran is no more likely now than it was then. The military has its hands full in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the impact of the U.S. attacking a third Muslim nation since 9/11 would be extreme, officers believe. No President wants to bequeath another unfinished war to his successor. —BY MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON

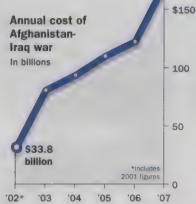
## MILITARY SPENDING

### Iraq Expenses

New estimates show the cost of the war may reach \$12 billion a month this year. Economists Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes estimate that U.S. spending in Iraq could get to \$2.7 trillion overall—or more—by 2017. Here are some of the reasons:

**\$171 billion**  
CURRENT COST  
OF IRAQ WAR

Annual cost of  
Afghanistan-  
Iraq war  
In billions



Sources: The Three Trillion Dollar War, war cost; Congressional Research Service; four-year estimates; oil; Energy Information Administration; vehicles; Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments



## EXPLAINER

### Why Girls Need Gym Class

Physical fitness has tangible effects on classroom performance, says a new study

### WHAT'S THE LATEST?

The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) surveyed 5,000 students ranging from kindergarten to fifth grade and found that girls who got from 70 to 300 min. of physical education per week scored consistently higher on standardized tests. More exercise also translated into increased classroom participation and concentration skills.

### WHAT ABOUT BOYS?

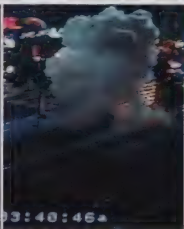
The study found no correlation between gym class and test scores for boys, but that may be because elementary-school-age males tend to be more active outside school. And according to the CDC, boys are often more physically fit than girls, meaning gym-class dodgeball might not be enough to give them the same beneficial physiological effects.



## Briefing



**ALASKA**  
A person and cancer survivor wins Iditarod race



**NEW YORK CITY**  
Bomb explodes in Times Square



**CAPE CANAVERAL, FLA.**  
Space shuttle Endeavour makes a rare nighttime launch

1

### Personnel Costs

Annual cost to the government

\$180,000



Army sergeant

Includes salary, benefits and government expenses

\$445,000



Private security contractor

**MANPOWER** Private security forces commandeer high wages. In 2007 the State Department spent more than \$4 billion on private protection.

2

### Fuel Costs

World crude-oil futures

Dollars per barrel



**OIL SPIKE** The world price of oil has quadrupled since the Afghanistan invasion in 2001. In Iraq, prices are even higher because of long and unsafe supply links.

3

### Equipment Costs

Troop protection

The Humvee is being replaced by the more costly mine-resistant MRAP



Humvee

\$150,000

MRAP

\$800,000

**UPGRADES** The Pentagon replaced 18,000 humvees with mine-resistant ambush-protected vehicles (MRAPs) in 2003. They're superior—but not cheap.

#### WHY DOES IT MATTER?

Many school districts are slashing PE to meet budgets; math and reading are what count on standardized tests—and in assessing schools' performance under No Child Left Behind. As a result, most kids have gym class only once or twice a week. That lack of physical exercise could be adversely affecting girls' academic development.

#### AFGHANISTAN

### Cell-Phone Fatwa



Taliban insurgents are following through on their threat to target cell-phone towers if wireless firms continue providing nighttime service.

Up to nine towers in southern Afghanistan have been attacked since last month. Why go after telecom? The Taliban believes informants use cell phones to alert U.S. troops after dark. According to the U.S. military, more than 50 high-level Taliban members were killed in 2007—many at night.

**GIVING IN?** Reluctant to be associated with the government, wireless companies have refused state security protection. And although the companies haven't admitted to caving in to Taliban demands, many Afghans have recently reported that their cell-phone service has been shut down after dark.

#### AEROSPACE

### Tough Love for Boeing

The U.S. manufacturing giant is crying foul after it lost a \$35 billion U.S. Air Force contract to a consortium including the European parent company of Airbus. Boeing has filed a formal protest with the government, saying the selection process was "seriously flawed."

**SILVER LINING** Boeing's loss of the aerial-tanker contract to a partly foreign rival may show that defense spending is about more than hometown pork for U.S. companies. Critics say Boeing approached the contract bid with a sense of entitlement; in a global market, this may be a needed wake-up call.



# The Page

## DELEGATES

## The Do-Over?

Florida's and Michigan's primaries were invalidated by the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Now the Dems are looking for a way to give the states a second chance. Some proposals:



**AT STAKE**  
366 delegates  
in Florida and  
Michigan

## Politics up to the minute

Mark Halperin reports from the campaign every day on [thepage.time.com](http://thepage.time.com)



**JON CORZINE**  
**New Primaries**

New Jersey governor Corzine and Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell, both Hillary Clinton supporters, have offered to fund-raise up to half the cost of new state primaries.



**HOWARD DEAN**  
**Mail-In Ballot**

DNC chair Dean has expressed interest in a proposal to have voters mail in ballots, but he says that the campaigns must agree on the plan and that the DNC won't pay for it.



**CHARLIE CRIST**  
**Seat the Delegates**

Crist, GOP governor of Florida, and Democratic Michigan governor Jennifer Granholm say the best solution is to count the delegates chosen in January.

## ELECTORAL CALENDAR

As goes Montana, so goes the nation? The ongoing battle for the Democratic nomination is giving some unlikely states (and even Puerto Rico) pivotal roles.

**PENNSYLVANIA**

The Keystone State, which is similar to Ohio in terms of demographics, is the biggest remaining prize, with 158 delegates up for grabs.

**INDIANA AND NORTH CAROLINA**

Clinton appeals to Indiana's blue-collar workers, while North Carolina might go for Obama, like much of the South (including Mississippi on March 11).

**WEST VIRGINIA**

While longtime West Virginia Senator Jay Rockefeller has thrown his support behind Obama, Clinton looks likely to do well in the tiny state.

**KENTUCKY AND OREGON**

Since 1998, freethinking Oregon has been the only state that conducts its elections entirely by mail. Obama has won several Pacific Northwest states.

**PUERTO RICO**

The commonwealth recently moved up its contest and switched from a caucus to a primary system. Its citizens, however, cannot vote in the general election.

**MONTANA AND SOUTH DAKOTA**

Democrats may well emerge from these two primary contests without a clear nominee. If so, superdelegates would be the deciding factor at August's convention.



## SURROGATES

## Ferraro Fireworks

THE NEWS Hillary Clinton supporter Geraldine Ferraro, the 1984 vice-presidential candidate, said of Barack Obama's success, "If Obama was a white man, he would not be in this position." Obama's camp went into overdrive, accusing Ferraro (and Clinton) of playing the race card.

**THE RESPONSE** Ferraro seemed ready to escalate the race debate, firing back with, "I really think they're attacking me because I'm white." Ultimately, though, Ferraro quit Clinton's finance committee.

## GOD-O-METER

## Changing Churches?

It's hardly unusual for Bill Clinton to spend Sunday mornings making the rounds at black churches in primary states. But the Sunday before Hillary Clinton's squeaker victory in Texas found her husband ensconced with daughter Chelsea at Joel Osteen's Houston mega-church, which is white, black and Latino. Why the change in venues? Polls by the progressive group Faith in Public Life show that Hillary has support among white Evangelical



Democrats, winning them 57% to 35% over Barack Obama in Ohio, for example. The Osteen President didn't address Osteen's congregation, but the preacher acknowledged him from the pulpit to a spirited round of applause.



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# Verbatim

'You won't see me as a vice presidential candidate ... I'm running for President.'

**BARACK OBAMA**, rejecting Hillary Clinton's suggestion that he could be her Vice President



'This is a major political earthquake.'

**IBRAHIM SUFFIAN**, Malaysian pollster, on the March 8 electoral gains by the opposition parties against the National Front coalition, various forms of which have ruled the country since its independence in 1963



'This is the new face of hunger.'

**JOSETTE SHEERAN**, head of the U.N. World Food Programme, warning that the global rise in basic food prices could continue until 2010. Food riots have broken out in Morocco, Yemen, Mexico, Senegal and Uzbekistan

'He is called the Merchant of Death and Man of War for a reason.'

**THOMAS PASQUARELLO**, regional director of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, on the capture of notorious arms dealer Viktor Bout, who had previously worked with U.S. contractors in Iraq but ran afoul of the law when he allegedly smuggled guns to Colombia's leftist rebels and other outlawed groups

'I will govern for all but think above all of those who don't have it all.'

**JOSE LUIS RODRIGUEZ ZAPATERO**, Socialist Prime Minister, after winning re-election in Spain on March 9. He cites the economy and social reforms as his top priorities



'We had psychoanalytic sessions ... Writing together with somebody is very intimate.'

**MADONNA**, on collaborating with Justin Timberlake on tracks for her new album, *Hard Candy*



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Sources: ABC, Wall Street Journal/Guardian, AP, Bloomberg, interview

## NUMBERS

### ECONOMY

**63,000**

Net number of U.S. jobs lost in February, the biggest decline in four years, after economists predicted a gain of 25,000 jobs

**\$200 billion**

Amount the U.S. Federal Reserve pledged to inject into the banking system, prompting a March 11 market rally that saw the Dow Jones industrial average surge 417 points—its biggest one-day gain in five years

### PLASTIC SURGERY

**7,882**

Number of breast-augmentation surgeries performed on American teens in 2007, up 55% from 2006

**47.4%**

Percentage of those augmentations that were based on aesthetic preference; others were performed to correct asymmetries or deformities

### RELIGION

**2,130**

Number of U.S. congregations using environmentally friendly "eco-palms" in their Palm Sunday services. Traditional palm-harvesting wastes more than 50% of the fronds



**\$47.50**

Average cost of 200 eco-palms, compared with about \$22 for traditional palms

### SPACE EXPLORATION

**29**

Age of Yi So-yeon, a female bioengineer who will become South Korea's first astronaut. Her voyage to the International Space Station is scheduled for April 8 and will last about 10 days

**49**

Number of women who have flown into space so far, out of 466 people overall

Sources: CNN Money; U.S. Dept. of Commerce; Plastic Surgery Statistics Society; AP; Encyclopedia Astronautica



# People

Q &amp; A

## Talking with Gene Wilder

The legendary comic's latest novel, *The Woman Who Wouldn't*, hit shelves March 4. His life and work will be featured in a Turner Classic Movies special on April 15.

**This is your third book. Will you act again?** I'll always leave the door open, but it's not open very wide. I like writing so much now. I write after breakfast, then have a cup of tea, give my wife a little kiss and write some more. Then I have a tuna salad and write some more. It's very relaxing.

**You starred in the original *Producers* movie. Were you happy to see it hit Broadway?** I was nervous. I saw it in the preview, and my heart was pounding. But after three minutes, when Nathan Lane started his first big number, everything relaxed, and I laughed maybe the loudest.

**What did you think of Johnny Depp's reprised role of Willy Wonka?** I haven't seen it. I like Depp, but when I heard they were doing a remake, I heard: mistake. When I saw clips on TV and I saw what Depp was doing, I thought, Don't see the movie—you like Depp too much. I always get comments: "Yours is better." I know they're talking about Willy Wonka.

**You weren't always called Gene Wilder, right?** I was Jerry Silberman. When I was accepted into the Actors Studio, I couldn't see "Jerry Silberman in *Macbeth*." I changed my name overnight.



## A hole in Heath's will

Heath Ledger left an outdated will that made no mention of ex-wife and MICHELLE WILLIAMS or their daughter MATILDA. But Ledger's father has assumed Williams that he'll "take care" of the two.



## Walker, Iraq ranger

The only weapon of mass destruction in Iraq, U.S. soldiers joke, is **CHUCK NORRIS**. The action hero's frequent Iraq visits have inspired tributes like this one from troops stationed there.

## CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

**In treatment.** **PATRICK SWAYZE**, for pancreatic cancer. He is continuing to work on film projects

**Signed.** **BILLY CRYSTAL**, to a one-day contract with the New York Yankees. He will play in a spring-training game against the Pittsburgh Pirates

**Releasing an album.** **WHITNEY HOUSTON**, with her first new songs since 2002

**Reported to prison.** **MARION JONES**, Olympic sprinter, who began a six-month sentence in Texas for lying to investigators about taking illegal steroids

**Pregnant.** **LISA MARIE PRESLEY**, with her third child, 18 years after her first child's birth

## Justin's Problem

Move over, *Ugly Betty*: a new hit Spanish-language show could translate to U.S. prime time this fall. Grammy winner **JUSTIN TIMBERLAKE** is producing an adaptation of the Peruvian comedy *My Problem with Women* for NBC.



# Milestones

**DIED** LOTS OF LITTLE BOYS love fighter planes.

But New York City-born **Donald Lopez** became so obsessed after watching the Oscar-winning 1927 silent film *Wings* that he took his first plane ride—in an open cockpit—at age 7. He went on to become a U.S. Air Force test pilot and World War II ace, part of the team that was the successor to the storied Flying Tigers fighters. Later, as a director of the Smithsonian, Lopez collaborated with *Apollo 11* astronaut Michael Collins to plan and build the National Air and Space Museum. He was 84.

**MUSIC FANS KNEW HIM AS** Hurricane Smith, whose song *Oh, Babe, What Would You Say?* hit *Billboard*'s Top 10 in 1973. But to industry types, **Norman Smith** was better known as the longtime engineer, or technician in chief, for the Beatles. Smith, nicknamed "Normal" by John Lennon, worked with producer George Martin on every Beatles recording through 1965's *Rubber Soul*. Later, as a producer, Smith helped usher in the psychedelic era by discovering and signing Pink Floyd after watching their trippy act at London's UFO club. He was 85.

**THE LONDON TABLOIDS** liked to call **Francis Pym** the "thorn in Margaret Thatcher's side"—a politely British way of saying he was detested by the then Prime Minister. In 1979 Thatcher appointed him Defense Secretary, and he became Foreign Secretary during the Falklands war. Pym worked closely with Britain's U.S. and European allies, and was for a time her likeliest potential challenger. But his private battles with Thatcher over his criticism of her economic policies exploded in 1983, when he publicly said he hoped the Tories would not win the election by an overwhelming majority. Thatcher fired him. He died at age 86.



**AS KGB CHIEF, FIRST IN** Ukraine and then in Russia, the beefy **Vitaly Fedorchuk** was known as a thug. Thought to be behind kidnappings and murders as the "Butcher of Ukraine," he later persecuted Russians who had too much contact with foreigners before finally becoming highly visible as the Soviet Union's top



cop in the '80s. His efforts at first seemed to foreshadow *perestroika*-like reforms: he exposed official corruption and condemned drunkenness. But Western analysts called his heavy-handed tactics "neo-Stalinist." In the late '80s Mikhail Gorbachev sidelined him. Fedorchuk was 89.

**IMAGINE A WORLD WITH** out *CSI*, *NYPD Blue* and *Law & Order*. That void was pop culture before Brooklynite screenwriter **Malvin Wald** conceived and co-wrote *The Naked City*, the noirish black-and-white 1948 film detailing a police investigation into a model's murder. (Famous last lines: "There are 8 million stories in the Naked City. This has been one of them.") Set on the piers and streets of New York City, the movie broke with depictions of cops as inept bumbles—and private eyes as heroic crime solvers—and set the stage for the now-teeming genre of gritty police dramas. Wald, who was nominated for an Oscar for the film, was 90.

**ON THE NIGHT OF SEPT. 22,** 1943, **Pearl Cornioley**—now hailed as one of Britain's greatest wartime secret agents—parachuted into France after a few months of training with Britain's Special Operations Executive, a group that welcomed women as potentially less suspect than men. Once there, Cornioley posed as a cosmetics saleswoman and helped arm and organize the

Resistance. She commanded soldiers who damaged German communications and presided over the surrender of 18,000 German troops. Nominated for a Military Cross medal after the war, she could not receive it because she was female. She later won honors, including the title of Commander of the Order of the British Empire. She was 93.



**FEW JOURNALISTS COVER** ing prerevolutionary China can claim to be familiar with communist rebel life in the trenches. But veteran AP reporter and China watcher **John Roderick** was there. For months, he shared the cave Mao Zedong and other rebels used as headquarters after the Japanese flattened the city of Yan'an, the end point of the communists' Long March. Roderick went on to cover the country from its ensuing civil war through the economic reforms of the 1980s, and in 1979 reopened the AP bureau in Beijing. "Keep learning," he advised colleagues. "If you ever think you understand China completely, it's time to go home." Roderick was 93.





James

# Poniewozik

## The Case for Full Disclosure. Admitting that reporters care who wins is the best way to make political news trustworthy

ON FEB. 5, I WOKE UP, WENT FOR A RUN, showered, had a yogurt smoothie, took the kids to school and voted for Barack Obama. Only one of those facts is worth your knowing, and it is the one that most journalists would never tell you.

In today's confessional era, reporters disclose private matters ranging from marriage to stock ownership. Everything except voting. Some refuse to vote at all—like Washington *Post* editor Len Downie, who told NPR, “I didn’t want to take a position, even in my own mind” on elections. (To which I say, Anyone who can perform that kind of self hypnosis should get into the lucrative smoking-cessation business.) More commonly, reporters vote but keep it to themselves. At the *New York Times*, even opinion columnists are forbidden to endorse candidates.

It wasn’t always so, but as grubby “reporters” evolved into white-collar, credentialed “journalists,” it has become a tradition—a pointless one. If a tech writer told you he had no preference between Macs and PCs and chose not to use a computer in the interest of impartiality, you would rightly consider him an idiot. But politics is not consumer journalism, right? Right—it’s more important, and transparency in it is more essential.

**The reasons not to say whom you’re voting** for boil down mainly to the interests of journalists, not those of readers and viewers. It would be a pain in the neck. Campaign sources would mistrust you. Radio hosts and bloggers would have a field day. Readers would become suspicious.

**To say that offering more information makes us less credible is absurd. When else do reporters argue that their audience must be protected from knowledge?**

But more suspicious than they are already? The biggest reason to go open kimono is that the present system does what journalism should never do: it perpetuates a lie. Modern political journalism is based on the bogus concept of neutrality (that people can be steeped in campaigns yet not care who wins) and the legitimate ideal of fairness (that people can place intellectual integrity and rigor over their rooting interests). Voting and disclosing would expose the sham of neutrality—which few believe anyway—and compel opinion and news



writers alike to prove, story by story, that fairness is possible anyway. Partisans, bloggers and media critics are toxically obsessed with ferreting out reporters’ preferences; treating them as shameful secrets only makes matters worse.

And let’s be honest about the worry that lies behind that reticence: What happens when the public finds out the press is full of Democrats? (An MSNBC report last year found that of more than 100 journalists who made political donations, the vast majority gave to the Dems.) If people knew this—or knew, say, that a certain cable-news network tilted pro-Bush—would they trust us less? Hey, maybe they should. And

maybe we should view their criticism as a help, not an annoyance.

Mainstream media organizations are all for interactivity when it means getting our audience to work for free—uploading video or volunteering prose on our websites. If we can outsource the news, why not outsource news criticism? Getting stories right takes constant attention. Let the audience help, by critiquing, analyzing and hectoring from as informed a basis as possible. Arguing that offering more information makes us less credible is not just absurd but antijournalistic. When else do reporters argue that their audience must be protected from knowledge?

**Opinion is not itself dangerous.** Hidden opinion is, as is journalism slanted to reflect it. I’ve critiqued Obama’s campaign videos favorably but also criticized the press for its swooning coverage of him. I don’t know if that makes me fair. But you can judge for yourself, and you should.

Of course, it’s easy for me to be sanctimonious: I’m a pop-culture columnist, not a campaign reporter. The logistics of disclosing votes would be a problem; no one wants to slog through countless articles giving the writers’ electoral history back to college. But the online magazine *Slate* handled this by doing a poll of its staff before the 2000 and 2004 general elections. It is the sort of thing websites and blogs are made for.

The main reason it won’t happen with the mainstream media soon, however, is simple: the other guy isn’t doing it. Ultimately, it’s about money—you’d risk losing half your audience.

But for the larger journalism business to stay relevant (and profitable), doing it could be a very good thing. The partisans who hate the media for our perceived politics are a relatively small, vocal group. More widely damaging, in the age of authenticity, is phoniness—in this case, acting as if we were dispassionate marble gods. It’s time to leave that Potemkin Olympus and admit that, like responsible citizens, we care about elections. And then prove that, like responsible professionals, we care about the truth more. ■

# PRIVACY IN CYBERSPACE: WHO OWNS YOUR EMAIL?

**IT HAPPENS ALL THE TIME.** You receive an email that's so outrageous you just have to share it with a few colleagues. Soon, it's all over the office. An offended co-worker tells the boss, who accesses your personal email. Suddenly, you're fired. You cry "privacy!" Your employer says "Too bad!" And, according to Stephen Lichtenstein and Gerald Ferrera of the Bentley Global CyberLaw Center, you lose...probably. Because the law is far from settled in cyberspace.

**STEPHEN D. LICHTENSTEIN & GERALD R. FERRERA, Bentley Global CyberLaw Center** **Q+A**



Stephen D. Lichtenstein (L), Professor of Law, chairs the Law, Taxation and Financial Planning Department at Bentley and is Co-Director of the Bentley Global CyberLaw Center. Gerald R. Ferrera (R), Gregory H. Adamson Professor of Law, is Founder and Executive Director of the Bentley Global CyberLaw Center.

**BENTLEY COLLEGE** in Waltham, Massachusetts, is preparing undergraduate and graduate students to succeed in a rapidly changing global marketplace. To learn more about our renowned faculty, innovative programs and cutting-edge technology, we invite you to contact Bentley today.

**AS CO-AUTHORS OF THE DEFINITIVE TEXT ON CYBERLAW, WHAT ADVICE DO YOU HAVE FOR THOSE OF US IN THE WIRED WORKPLACE?**

**SL:** First of all, you should know that workplace privacy is an oxymoron.

**GF:** There's no reasonable expectation of privacy if you are emailing, blogging or otherwise communicating at work, even if it's personal.

**BUT WHO OWNS MY EMAILS?**

**GF:** As the author, you own the copyright; on the other hand, the recipient may own the email itself. In fact, the company, or even the network may claim to own it — the law is just catching up to these issues.

**AND AFTER I'M GONE?**

**GF:** Again, there is little case law on this. If you were a celebrity, politician or scientist, your emails could be very valuable upon your death. The issue of ownership is a hot topic.

**WHAT ARE THE OTHER EMERGING ISSUES IN CYBERLAW?**

**SL:** A big one for consumers is data collection. How long do companies keep your personal information and for what purpose? We should all be asking: "Do you really need my social security number?"

**THERE'S SECURITY, PRIVACY, COPYRIGHT...**

**GF:** Patents, defamation, obscenity... you have only to look at the CyberLaw Center website to realize how many hot topics there are. There's been an international sea change in the way we communicate, conduct business and access entertainment — and it all has legal repercussions.

**MORE** Professors Lichtenstein and Ferrera discuss their work at [www.bentley.edu/research](http://www.bentley.edu/research)



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**Eliot's mess** Spitzer announcing his resignation on March 12. His wife Silda had reportedly urged him to fight on

# The Reckless Rise And Sordid Fall of Eliot Spitzer

A sex scandal ends the meteoric career of New York's governor, a man who always thought he was a step ahead. Why a possible presidential contender threw it all away

BY JOHN CLOUD





**H**IS VISAGE DESCRIBED DISCONTINUENCE." Eliot Spitzer wrote those words about a character in a short story for his high school literary magazine. The sentence was florid in an adolescent way—Spitzer was always something of an intellectual show-off. Jason Brown, a friend from those days, later told Spitzer biographer Brooke Masters that Spitzer might simply have written, "He was unhappy."

But Spitzer's rather poetic sentence seemed apt on March 12, as he resigned as governor of New York in a brief press conference, the culmination of a 48-hour melodrama sparked by revelations that he had been a client of a prostitution ring. Thus ended a public career that had once seemed promising enough that Spitzer was discussed as a potential 2012 Democratic presidential nominee. Spitzer apologized for his "private failings," but he said nothing to explain why he would have thrown it all away, why he risked so much. He had built a reputation as an ethical crusader, and as a former prosecutor, he knew well the myriad electronic and surveillance tools that reveal hidden arrangements for crimes like prostitution. Just last year, Spitzer had signed a law that lengthened jail time for johns from three months to as much as a year.

How does a man like this expect not to be caught? George Winner Jr., a New York state senator, told the *New York Times* that fellow legislators, upon first hearing that Spitzer had hired a hooker, believed it was a practical joke. Says Eric Lane, a law professor at Hofstra University: "This isn't Bill Clinton, where in one sense you would have expected it. This is a shock."

But maybe it shouldn't have been. Although Spitzer had never before shown signs of a personal temperament that ran to the louché—Masters says his treatment of past girlfriends and female employees was always respectful—he had a long history of recklessness, a sense that the usual boundaries of authority didn't apply to him.

Part of it was being not just the brilliant son of a multimillionaire—someone who surely sensed entitlement from an early age—but the son of a particular multimillionaire, Bernard Spitzer. Bernard (who is in his 80s and suffering from Parkinson's) was a fierce, demanding parent. He once reduced Eliot to tears during a game of *Monopoly*. Bernard, a real estate developer, had ordered his son—at the time a boy of 7 or 8—to sell him a piece of property; Eliot then couldn't afford the rent when a roll of the dice landed him on that property. "He didn't realize his own rights," Bernard told Masters years later, adding that he



**A son of privilege** Eliot and his father Bernard Spitzer, far right, with New York City mayor Abe Beame in the 1970s

had taught his son a lesson: "Never defer to authority."

Eliot Spitzer always had a complex relationship with authority. As attorney general of New York—the position he held for eight years before winning the governorship—he made a name for himself by aggressively prosecuting Wall Street fraud; this magazine called him "Crusader of the Year" in 2002.

But many on Wall Street felt he went too far, pressuring ethically wayward but not necessarily criminal companies into agreeing to unfairly large settlements by threatening cases with prolonged legal battles. (Spitzer extracted at least \$5 billion in penalties from financial firms, according to Masters.) In December 2005, former Goldman Sachs chairman John Whitehead, who was then chairing the Lower Manhattan Development Corp., alleged that Spitzer tried to bully him after Whitehead wrote a *Wall Street Journal* Op-Ed criticizing the

attorney general's zealotry: "I will be coming after you," Spitzer allegedly told Whitehead, who said he immediately took notes of the conversation. "You will pay dearly for what you have done." (Spitzer's communications director Darren Dopp, who later left the administration under an ethics cloud, denied Whitehead's account.)

Spitzer got into trouble again just after taking office as governor. After reporters inquired as to whether Spitzer had used a state plane to fly to California for a fund-raising trip—he had not—Dopp asked state troopers to look into the state-funded travel habits of Spitzer's chief antagonist, Republican state-senate leader Joseph Bruno. When the trooper request was made public, the state gov objected bitterly. Teams of investigators are still looking into whether the governor and his people illegally used their authority to try to intimidate Bruno.

Spitzer's approval ratings plummeted after his election; it didn't help that not long after becoming governor, Spitzer said to the Republican leader in the state assembly, "I'm a f— steamroller, and I'll roll over you." Or that when he had a policy dispute with the popular mayor of New York City, Michael Bloomberg, Spitzer grandiosely said, "[Bloomberg] is wrong at every level—dead wrong, factually wrong, legally wrong, morally wrong, ethically wrong."

Like many scolds, Spitzer seemed to believe his burning pursuit of right justified any personal failings—his boorishness, the overweening use of his offices and, one presumes, his philandering. "I think he felt he was totally invulnerable and could do whatever he wanted and there would be no consequences," says Ed Koch, a former New York City mayor who

**Spitzer had a long history of recklessness, a sense that the usual boundaries of authority didn't apply to him**

considers himself a friend of Spitzer's.

Still, it's difficult to believe that the crack former prosecutor would allow himself to get caught up in the routine IRS investigation that led to the exposure of the prostitution ring. As Spitzer knows better than most, banks must inform the government of suspicious transactions like unusually large or frequent cash withdrawals and requests to break down money transfers into small amounts. (Spitzer appears to have used both methods to pay for prostitutes.) Investigators are particularly watchful when a public official is behind such transactions—something Spitzer also would have known. During a lunch with TIME staffers a few years ago, Spitzer bragged about his extensive knowledge of wiretaps just like the one that caught him arranging his date with "Kristen."

In the end, perhaps nothing could save him from his impulses. Spitzer's sins aren't unprecedented, and if you examine the concupiscence revealed in previous scandals—for instance, those of President Clinton, former Florida Congressman Mark Foley (who exchanged lewd messages with teenagers) and former New Jersey governor James McGreevey (who resigned in 2004 after admitting to an affair)—it's possible to find similar biographical elements: stern father figures, highly promising early careers, an expansive sense of power and purpose. Says Masters: "It's the hubris and willingness to tackle anything that made [Spitzer] so successful, and it's the hubris and willingness not to play by the rules that seem to have been his downfall."

Politicians occasionally survive sexual misconduct, as Clinton did. Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts and Senator David Vitter of Louisiana both stayed in office despite their prostitution scandals. Spitzer could not because, in the end, "he's got no friends," says Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf, who worked on two of Spitzer's campaigns. "If you're seen as being the source of all moral behavior and then you turn out not to be that way, people are happy about it."

Sheinkopf recalls a sad moment from Spitzer's 1998 attorney general campaign: Spitzer had been charged with improperly using his father's money to help finance his career. He denied the truth until the last possible moment, when he finally admitted that his dad made it possible for him to lend his campaign millions. "I looked over and saw this man—thin, in shirtsleeves with frayed cuffs, holding himself in the corner," Sheinkopf says. "I thought, This must be the loneliest man on the planet. And in fact, he turned out to be." —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN, JENNINE LEE ST, JOHN AND ALEXANDRA SILVER ■

## The Science of Risk-Taking. Why smart people do reckless things

The pursuit of a thrill can make us take crazy chances: bungee-jumping, say, or skydiving. And then there's paying for a prostitute when you're a public figure the whole world is watching. In all such cases, excitement is involved—so why does it seduce some of us while leaving others cold?

The answer may start with brain chemistry. In the 1990s, Israeli researchers identified what they thought of as a risk gene, a bit of behavioral coding that changes the reabsorption of the neurotransmitter dopamine, making it easier for some people to respond to stress or anxiety. The higher your threshold for those feelings, the higher your tolerance for risk. But that accounts for only 10% of thrill-seeking behavior. A later University of Delaware study suggested that another neurotransmitter, serotonin, plays a role as well. The chemical helps inhibit impulsive behavior, and it could be in short supply in people who take chances.

Some scientists point to high testosterone levels

combined with low monoamine oxidase inhibitors, which regulates dopamine. The role of testosterone may also implicate evolution. When giant beasts stalked the earth, men took big risks to hunt big game. That could explain why males seem more likely to take chances than females do.

Not all risks have to be serious ones. Marvin Zuckerman, psychologist and professor emeritus at the University of Delaware, says risk-taking can mean seeking sensory experiences through food or travel or the more primal thrills of sex—as may be the case with Elliot Spitzer. The problem is, he says, that "high-sensation seekers tend to underestimate the risk."

None of this means Spitzer was a blameless victim of chemistry. Sometimes hubris is just hubris. But humans habituate to thrills, which means needing more and more to get the same buzz. "You want to re-create the high, so you up the ante," says neuropharmacologist Candace Pert. And as Spitzer learned, when you risk everything, you can lose it too. —BY KATE STINCHFIELD



## Monkey Business. A look at sex scandals past shows some politicians survive the fall



### David Vitter

His name was linked last July to a Washington escort service. The Louisiana Senator said he had sinned, apologized and kept his job.



### Bill Clinton

The President denied having sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky, altered his story and wound up impeached. He was acquitted and served out his term.



### Larry Craig

The Idaho Senator was arrested in a sex sting in a men's bathroom last June. He said he would resign but changed his mind and is still in office.



### Bob Packwood

When accused of sexual misconduct with 17 women, the Oregon Senator was forced to resign in 1995 rather than face expulsion.



### Mark Foley

He made his name protecting kids, but the Florida Representative exchanged lewd messages with congressional pages and resigned in 2006.



### Barney Frank

He admitted in 1989 to using his influence on behalf of a male prostitute. Voters in Massachusetts have re-elected him to the House ever since.



### James McGreevey

Declaring "I am a gay American," the then married New Jersey governor quit in 2004 after admitting to an affair with a man he had given a state job.



### Gary Hart

In 1987, stories and photos emerged of the Colorado Senator with another woman. He dropped out of the presidential nomination race.

# How Much Did She Do?

Hillary Clinton has staked her candidacy on her years as First Lady. A look at the record shows both the range and limits of her actual experience

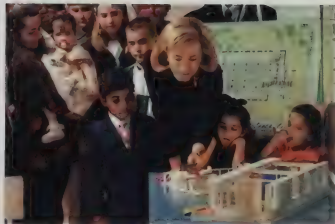
**I**N HER RACE TO WIN THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION against a first-term Senator from Illinois, Hillary Clinton has put the criterion of experience front and center. She often references what she says is 35 years of work that qualifies her to run the country. And the most important achievements Clinton cites are the ones she claims from her years as First Lady—a job that carries no portfolio but can wield enormous influence.

The nature of Hillary Clinton's involvement was always a matter of great sensitivity in her husband's White House. After her disastrous 1994 foray into health-care reform, Bill Clinton's aides went out of their way to downplay her role in Administration decision making. She rarely appeared at meetings in which officials hashed out important policy trade-offs, but when the discussion centered on issues that were among her priorities, she sent her aides—much the way Vice President Al Gore did. "There were certain issues they kind of owned," recalls Gene Sperling, who headed economic policy in the Clinton White House. The First Lady's top concerns, he says, were children's issues, health care, and foster-care and adoption policies.

Now the former First Lady claims at least a share of the credit for a wide range of the Clinton Administration's signature accomplishments, both domestic and overseas. Does she deserve it? The Clinton and Obama campaigns spent this week arguing that question with dueling memos and talking points.

TIME decided to cut through the spin with a series that will take a closer look at the claims candidates make. As Senator Clinton is fond of saying, It's time to get real. We kick off the series by evaluating three of the achievements she mentions most often:

—BY KAREN TUMULTY, MICHAEL DUFFY AND MASSIMO CALABRESI



As First Lady, Clinton, above in 1997, made children's issues a priority

## Children's Health Care

### WHAT SHE SAYS

*One of her biggest achievements, Clinton often tells voters, is the multibillion-dollar health-care program that provides coverage for children whose parents are too rich for Medicaid but unable to afford health insurance on their own. As one of her campaign ads puts it, "She changed the lives of 6 million kids when she championed the bill that gave them health insurance."*

After comprehensive health-care reform went down to defeat in 1994, Clinton and other health-care advocates looked for targeted changes that might win more support. The most likely seemed the issue of providing coverage to children of the working poor. In October 1996, Senator Edward Kennedy introduced a bill to do just that, financed with a 75¢ cigarette tax increase; in his State of the Union address the following January, Bill Clinton announced a plan to cover 5 million kids.

It was one of several health policies Clinton proposed, including one that would expand coverage for the unemployed. Internally, according to one former White House aide, the First Lady argued that the White House should keep its focus on the more politically popular plan to focus on children.

In May 1997, however, when then Senate majority leader Trent Lott said the children's health plan would blow up their balanced-budget deal, the President abruptly changed course and actively lobbied Democratic lawmakers to vote against it. As a result, the provision failed, and Kennedy was furious at what he considered a betrayal. Hillary defended her husband's decision, telling one audience, "He had to safeguard the budget proposal."

The measure was resurrected a month later, largely through the efforts of Kennedy and Utah Republican Orrin Hatch, who worked behind the scenes on Capitol Hill and built a coalition of children's advocacy groups to bring public pressure on Congress to pass the measure. Kennedy also privately pressed the First Lady to use her influence at the White House. After Bill Clinton signed the bill into law that August, Kennedy said at a press conference, "Mrs. Clinton... was of invaluable help, both in the fashioning and the shaping of the program and also as a clear advocate."

**THE BOTTOM LINE** The record suggests Clinton did indeed lobby for children's health coverage but that many others were responsible as well. And it also shows that her husband nearly killed the idea before it ever got off the ground.



## Northern Ireland

### WHAT SHE SAYS

*On the campaign trail, Clinton has claimed she "helped to bring peace to Northern Ireland" in the 1990s.*

Clinton's words are very carefully chosen. She has never claimed to have actually negotiated the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, which paved the way toward power sharing in Northern Ireland. Her involvement was more about generating public and private support for peace talks in the months leading up to that agreement.

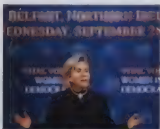
It's a key distinction. There is no question that the First Lady encouraged women from Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods to push their political leaders toward the bargaining table. She traveled to Northern Ireland twice by herself in the mid- to late 1990s and praised those who stood up for peace. She engaged in particular with a group of women peace activists who were largely cut out of the male-dominated negotiations and encouraged them to keep the pressure on.

Some of Clinton's supporters, like former National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, say this pressure was instrumental in creating the atmosphere for the eventual peace agreement. But several diplomatic sources who worked on the peace talks say that the women's groups were not nearly as pivotal to the process as Hillary's backers maintain. And Lord Trimble of Lisnagarvey, former First Minister of Northern Ireland, told Britain's *Daily Telegraph* that Clinton was not involved in the process and her claims to have played a direct role were "a wee bit silly."

Clinton's husband and, to an even greater extent, former Senator George Mitchell were much more involved in those efforts, when the eyeball-to-eyeball negotiations began.

Clinton was working on the outside, said several involved in the process. "She was helpful with Vital Voices," said Jean Kennedy Smith, former ambassador to Ireland, referring to a women's organization in the country. "But as far as anything political went, there was nothing as far as I know, nothing to do with negotiations." Smith, who is supporting Obama, suggested the process was well under way by the time Clinton got involved.

**THE BOTTOM LINE** Clinton played a role in hearing the concerns of Irish women left out of the peace process, and in encouraging them to put pressure on their countrymen to pursue negotiations. But that does not mean she rolled up her sleeves and conducted or led the talks that resulted in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.



Clinton (in Belfast in 2002) urged Irish women to push for peace talks

## Macedonia Refugees

### WHAT SHE SAYS

*"I negotiated open borders to let fleeing refugees into safety from Kosovo," Clinton has asserted when asked to identify an example of her foreign policy experience.*

Clinton's shorthand version of her role in the 1999 refugee crisis in Macedonia is accurate but oversimplified. She did discuss open borders with the President and Prime Minister of Macedonia on May 14, 1999. (Borders between that country and Kosovo had been opening and closing for weeks.) She did support requests for economic help that the Macedonians were making.

But keeping the borders open was a key U.S. diplomatic project at the time, and her initiative was but a part of the larger effort. During the NATO war with neighboring Serbia that spring, the fate of Kosovars fleeing Serbian ethnic cleansing was a pressing issue on the international stage. If a flood of refugees overwhelmed Macedonia, a wider regional war could erupt. No one, however, want-

ed to leave the Kosovars to the mercy of the Serbs. So finding a temporary home for them was crucial.

When Clinton arrived in the middle of the situation in that May, diplomats on the ground expected an ineffectual high profile visit. But they were wrong. "She was quite at ease and professional," says a diplomat who served in the Macedonian capital, Skopje, at the time. Clinton visited refugees in camps on the border and held talks with the Macedonian leadership.

When the Prime Minister complained about American companies terminating textile contracts with local firms, Clinton promised to urge the businesses to change course. Five weeks after her trip, Clinton returned to the country with a pledge from Liz Claiborne to support textile manufacturing there.

**THE BOTTOM LINE** In the case of Macedonia, Clinton engaged in personal diplomacy that brought about change. But securing the return of American business partners is not the same as the opening of borders to thousands of refugees. That accomplishment was a result of broader U.S. and European efforts during the war.



The Clintons, visiting a refugee camp in 1999, promised to help Macedonia protect refugees who had fled Kosovo



# Israel's Secret War

In the West Bank an invisible battle is being waged, as Israel uses a mailed fist and a network of Palestinian informers to stop suicide bombers before they can reach their targets

BY TIM MCGIRK/JERUSALEM

**S**HORTLY BEFORE ALA' ABU DHAIM picked up a semiautomatic rifle, two pistols and lots of ammunition, he called his 17-year-old fiancée and made plans to go shopping the next day in Jerusalem. They were getting married in the summer and hoped to honeymoon in Turkey before moving into a house near olive groves. But Abu Dhaim, 25, was wrestling with darker forces. After hanging up the phone, he gathered his weapons in a cardboard television box and drove to the Mercaz Harav seminary in the heart of Jerusalem. Abu Dhaim climbed the stairs to a library, where he killed eight students and wounded an additional 10 before he was himself shot dead.

Abu Dhaim doesn't fit the typical profile of a suicide terrorist. His East Jerusalem family had money and education, and his fiancée describes him as cheerful, gentle and apolitical. His behavior not only fooled her but shook Israelis who had been lulled into thinking that the specter of Palestinian bombers and gunmen was a distant nightmare (the last suicide bombing in Jerusalem was in September 2004).

Alas, violence is all too present. Abu Dhaim's killing spree—along with a suicide bombing in the Negev town of Dimona last month—highlights Israel's continued vulnerability to terrorist attacks. Just because fewer Palestinian terrorists are slipping into Israel from the Palestinian West Bank doesn't mean that they have stopped trying. Says an officer in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF): "Our people sleep comfortably in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv because the IDF is putting in

a huge effort, day and night, in the West Bank to prevent terror."

Israel's secret war inside the West Bank is no less deadly—but a good deal less visible—than its fight in Gaza. In the West Bank, Israel relies on a network of Palestinian collaborators and wide-scale arrests. Last year more than 6,650 suspected Palestinian militants were rounded up, among them, claim Israeli intelligence officers, 279 potential suicide bombers. (IDF troops perform another function in the West Bank. In effect, they prop up Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. Without the presence of Israeli troops, his advisers concede, the West Bank would soon fall to Hamas militants, just as Gaza did last June.)

For Israel—and especially for those who live in settlements speckled throughout the West Bank—the looming danger is from militants who want to emulate their comrades in Gaza and launch rocket attacks. The IDF says it has uncovered clandestine explosives factories, which are said to prove that Hamas and other mili-

**'Our people sleep comfortably because the IDF is putting in a huge effort in the West Bank to prevent terror.'**

—AN OFFICER IN THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES



tant groups, such as Islamic Jihad and al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, are trying to learn rocket technology.

But as the Jerusalem seminary massacre shows, the main threat to Israel still comes not from rockets but from Palestinian suicide missions launched from the West Bank. Police say Abu Dhaim's weapons almost certainly came from inside the Palestinian territories. Suicide attacks peaked in March 2002, prompting Israel to launch a massive counterterrorism offensive in which Israeli troops set up checkpoints on all major roads, imposed curfews and fought their way into militant strongholds in refugee camps and in the cities of Jenin, Bethlehem, Nablus and Ramallah. Israeli troops stayed on. A security barrier was hastily built, and hundreds of roadblocks were erected. Commando teams carry out search-and-arrest missions nearly every night. Palestinians consider themselves the victims of an occupying army. Israelis retort that statistics prove



**The wall** Palestinian children from the Aida refugee camp in the West Bank play in front of the security barrier that Israel started building in 2003. The structure is one of the ways that Israel hopes to keep Palestinian militants at bay

the validity of their methods: Last year there was only a single attack, in the Red Sea resort of Eilat.

It has not been for lack of trying. Israel's domestic intelligence service, Shin Bet, claims that in 2007 it foiled 29 suicide attacks. Some were near misses: last March, for example, a truck loaded with 220 lbs. (100 kg) of explosives crossed from the West Bank and reached Tel Aviv, but the driver lost his nerve and turned back. Hamas officials concede that Israeli operations have crushed many underground cells but insist that after Hamas won the

Palestinian election in January 2006, its political wing abandoned suicide bombings in a fruitless effort to gain international recognition. Retired Brigadier Shalom Harari, now an expert on Palestinian affairs at the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism in Herzliya, disputes the claim. "Suicide bombings lessened because of 70% prevention by the Israeli forces, 10% by the Palestinian Authority and 20% because of luck," he says.

For Israelis, the West Bank's main battlefield is Nablus. An ancient city of 134,000 people boxed in by tall hills and scores of Israeli checkpoints, Nablus is dubbed by Israelis the "Capital of Terror." One officer says, "If I gave my men so much as a 15 minute break from their duties, there would be a bomb leaving Nablus on its way to Tel Aviv." No kidding: the IDF says that at the Nablus checkpoints last year, soldiers discovered 31 bombs, four guns and six grenades. And the Israelis claim that they destroyed 14 explosives labs in Nab-

lus alone last year. One of them, hidden in the catacombs beneath the Casbah, was also used to make short-range rockets.

At the Nablus battalion headquarters of the IDF, the senior officer has a display case with bottles of champagne and wine, each a gift from his superiors, each tagged with the name of a terrorist captured or killed. The Israelis rely on a web of informers for information. Saleh Abdul Jawad, a political science professor at Birzeit University, says Israel has "tens of thousands" of Palestinian informers on its payroll. Some keep tabs on who prays at mosques, while others burrow into militant cells, planting bugs and betraying planned actions to their controllers. "Every small part of Palestinian life is under Shin Bet control," says Abdul Jawad. "You need their permission to travel from one town to another, to study, to drive a car, even to sell your goods, and you can only get these permits if you collaborate."

Israel's success, however, is far from total. "Every time we cross one off [the list of wanted men], a new replacement pops up," says an officer in Nablus, wearily. For the IDF, the catch is this: because of Israel's tough tactics and the daily humiliations Palestinians must endure, anger at the occupier gets continually restoked, which makes the job of the militant ideologues that much easier.

And that of the Palestinian Authority harder. Under agreements made with Israel, the P.A. is supposed to crack down on militants threatening Israel. When it has suited Abbas to arrest his political foes in Hamas, he has been only too happy to oblige the Israelis (more than 500 Hamas and Islamic Jihad militants are now in Palestinian jails). But Abbas cannot crack down on militants when Israel is showing its mailed fist, as it has done of late in Gaza. So at the height of the Israeli assault, Abbas was unable to stop one of his lieutenants from releasing 20 Hamas prisoners from Tulkaram jail in solidarity with the Gaza fighters.

Popular sympathy for the militants means that they cannot yet be written off. A source close to Hamas commanders in the West Bank points out that Israelis have not caught the masterminds behind the Jerusalem yeshiva massacre and the Dimona café blast. "The Israelis are fools if they think we're going to keep fighting them with stones," this source says. "The Israelis update their weapons, and so do we." For now, Israelis have put a lid on militancy. But if that success breeds a new generation of terrorists, such as Abu Dhaim, who are willing to sacrifice life, marriage and a family for revenge, it will be a hollow victory.

—WITH REPORTING BY JAMIL HAMAD/  
RAMALLAH, AARON J. KLEIN/NABLUS AND  
IRIS MAKLER/JABAL MUKABAR ■

# Triple-A Trouble

Ratings agencies helped create the subprime mess. So why not pay less attention to their ratings?

**More Money**  
To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to [time.com/curiouscapitalist](http://time.com/curiouscapitalist)

THE PEOPLE AT MOODY'S AND STANDARD & Poor's are used to catching flak when debt markets blow up. Why didn't they see the bankruptcy of California's Orange County coming in 1994? Why did they fail to account for the currency risks brewing in Thailand and Indonesia and South Korea in 1997? And how was it that they were still rating Enron's debt as investment grade four days before the company went belly-up in 2001?

The furor over such missteps usually fades quickly. After a congressional hearing or two, the ratings agencies have always been allowed to go their merry and profitable way. And why not? Inability to see into the future isn't a crime, plus there has usually been someone else available to take the fall—like Arthur Andersen in the Enron case.

This time around, though, the ratings agencies didn't just fail to see a financial calamity coming. They helped cause it. Why did collateralized debt obligations (CDOs) based partly on risky subprime mortgages lead to so much trouble? Because Moody's and S&P awarded them dubiously generous letter grades. It's the same story for the mostly incomprehensible tizzy over bond insurance.

What can we do about this? There's actually a simple answer: just declare our independence from bond ratings.

The practice of giving letter grades to bonds to reflect their riskiness was pioneered by John Moody in 1909. But the industry took its current form only in the early 1970s. That's when Moody's and its competitors switched from selling research to investors to charging bond

issuers to rate their goods. This approach wasn't unheard of: you have to advertise in *Good Housekeeping* to get the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval. What made it problematic was that at about the same time, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) exalted the status of the ratings by writing them into the rules governing securities firms' capital holdings. Since then, the use of bond ratings in

just five years before. Its operating profit margin was a stunning 50% of revenue. By comparison, Google's was 30%.

To keep that profit machine going, Moody's and S&P have to keep finding new things to rate. And they're under intense pressure from issuers and investors alike to get as many securities as possible into the top ratings categories. The result is grade inflation, especially

in new products like CDOs. That's how banks and investors around the world ended up owning billions of dollars in triple A mortgage junk. It also helps explain the growth of bond insurers, companies that used their own triple-A ratings to bump over more bond issues into the top categories—even as their businesses ceased to be triple A safe.

One way to combat these tendencies would be to subject the raters to tight regulation by the SEC. But that understaffed agency is unlikely to be up to the task, especially since it's not clear what

exactly the task would be.

Which leaves the alternative suggested by Partnoy and several economists: cleansing the federal code of its reliance on bond ratings. Among the simplest fixes would be removing the ban on pension funds' holding debt securities rated lower than BBB. The funds can make far riskier investments in stocks and hedge funds, after all. Bank capital requirements do have to take into account the quality of securities, but there are market based measures that could at least partly replace ratings.


"The experiment we ran with government relying on the ratings agencies to do its job has failed," Partnoy says. Time for a new experiment.



regulation has only grown. Many institutional investors are banned from owning non-investment-grade bonds. Bank capital requirements—the cash and equivalents banks need to keep on hand—give more weight to highly graded securities. And this is increasingly the case not just in the U.S. but around the world.

What all this amounts to, argues Frank Partnoy, a derivatives salesman turned University of San Diego law professor, who is one of the sharpest critics of the ratings status quo, is a "regulatory license" for the ratings agencies. It's certainly a license to print money. Moody's, the lone ratings firm for which data are available, made \$702 billion in after-tax profit last year, up from \$289 million

**Why did CDOs based on risky subprime mortgages cause so much trouble? Because Moody's and S&P awarded them dubiously generous letter grades**



The world is growing by more than  
70 million people a year.

So is that a problem, or a solution?

With our planet's population continuing to increase, and the quality of life for millions in the developing world improving daily, our demand for energy is also growing. And to meet everyone's needs 25 years from now may take 50% more energy than we use today.

Finding and developing all the fuel and power we need for our homes, businesses and vehicles, while protecting the environment, could be one of the greatest challenges our generation will face.

The key to ensuring success is found in the same place that created this need: humanity itself. When the unique spirit we all possess is allowed to flourish, mankind has proven its ability to take on, and overcome, any issue. It's a spirit of hard work, ingenuity, drive, courage and no small measure of commitment. To success, to each other, to the planet.

The problem...becomes the solution.

This human energy that drives us to succeed has been there every day since the beginning. And it will be with us to shape many tomorrows to come.

So join us in tapping the most powerful source of energy in the world. Ourselves.

And watch what the human race can do.



Human Energy



Travel Weekly Globe Awards 2008 – Best Leisure Hotel Chain  
World Traveller Awards 2007 – Most Expected Hotel (Jumeirah HanTang Xintiandi)  
World Travel Awards Americas 2007 – Leading Hotel in North America  
World Travel Awards Americas 2007 – Leading Business Hotel in North America  
World Travel Awards Americas 2007 – Leading Business Hotel in New York  
World Travel Awards Gala Ceremony 2007 – World's Leading Hotel  
World Travel Awards 2007 – Leading Business Hotel in the Middle East  
World Travel Awards 2007 – World's Leading Family Luxury Resort  
World Travel Awards 2007 – World's Leading Luxury Hotel Brand  
World Travel Awards 2007 – Leading Conference Hotel in Dubai  
World Travel Awards 2007 – Leading Hotel in the Middle East  
World Travel Awards 2007 – Leading Hotel in the UAE  
World Travel Awards 2007 – Leading Hotel in Dubai  
World Travel Awards 2007 – Leading Resort in Dubai  
Business Traveller Asia Pacific Awards 2007 –  
Best Business Hotel Brand in the Middle East/Africa  
Business Traveller Germany Awards 2008 –  
Best Hotel in the Middle East  
Business Traveller Germany Awards 2008 –  
Best Middle Eastern Hotel Chain  
Business Traveller UK Awards 2007 –  
Best Business Hotel Chain in the Middle East  
Business Traveller UK Awards 2007 –  
Best Resort Hotel in the World  
Business Traveller UK Awards 2007 –  
Best Business Hotel in the Middle East  
Business Traveller Middle East Awards –  
Best Business Hotel in the Middle East  
Business Traveller Middle East Awards –  
Best Business Hotel in Dubai  
Business Traveller Magazine Germany –  
Best Hotel in the Middle East  
Conde Nast Traveller Reader's Choice Awards 2007 –  
Best Resort in Middle East and Africa  
Global Traveler Magazine –  
Best Hotel Chain in the Middle East

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□ WHAT'S NEXT

# 10 Ideas That Are Changing The World

More than money,  
more than politics,  
ideas are the secret  
power that this  
planet runs on.  
Here are a few you  
need to know about



- 36 COMMON WEALTH
- 42 THE END OF CUSTOMER SERVICE
- 44 THE POST-MOVIE STAR ERA
- 46 REVERSE RADICALISM
- 48 KITCHEN CHEMISTRY
- 50 GEO-ENGINEERING
- 52 SYNTHETIC AUTHENTICITY
- 56 THE NEW AUSTERITY
- 58 MANDATORY HEALTH
- 60 RE-JUDAIZING JESUS

Illustrations for TIME  
by Christoph Niemann

# #1 Common Wealth

**National interests aren't what they used to be. Our survival requires global solutions**

BY JEFFREY D. SACHS



Photographs by Emma  
by Philip Tatem



**T**HE 21ST CENTURY WILL OVERTURN many of our basic assumptions about economic life. The 20th century saw the end of European dominance of global politics and economics. The 21st century will see the end of American dominance too, as new powers, including China, India and Brazil, continue to grow and make their voices heard on the world stage. Yet the century's changes will be even deeper than a rebalancing of economics and geopolitics. The challenges of sustainable development—protecting the environment, stabilizing the world's population, narrowing the gaps of rich and poor and ending extreme poverty—will render passé the very idea of competing nation-states that scramble for markets, power and resources.

The defining challenge of the 21st century will be to face the reality that humanity shares a common fate on a crowded planet. We have reached the beginning of the century with 6.6 billion people living in an interconnected global economy producing an astounding \$60 trillion of output each year. Human beings fill every ecological niche on the planet, from the icy tundra to the tropical rain forests to the deserts. In some locations, societies have outstripped the carrying capacity of the land, resulting in chronic hunger, environmental degradation and a large-scale exodus of desperate populations. We are, in short, in one another's faces as never before, crowded into an interconnected society of global trade, migration, ideas and, yes, risk of pandemic diseases, terrorism, refugee movements and conflict.

We also face a momentous choice. Continue on our current course, and the world is likely to experience growing conflicts between haves and have-nots, intensifying environmental catastrophes and downturns in living standards caused by interlocking crises of energy, water, food and violent conflict. Yet for a small annual investment of world income, undertaken cooperatively across the world, our generation can harness new technologies for clean energy, reliable food supplies, disease

control and the end of extreme poverty.

That's why the idea that we have the greatest potential to change the world is simply this: by overcoming cynicism, ending our misguided view of the world as an enduring struggle of "us" vs. "them" and instead seeking global solutions, we actually have the power to save the world for all, today and in the future. Whether we end up fighting one another or whether we work together to confront common threats—our fate, our common wealth, is in our hands.

To make the right choice, we must understand four earth-changing trends unprecedented in human history:

First, the spread of modern economic growth means that the world on average is rapidly getting richer in terms of incomes per person. Moreover, the gap in average income per person between the rich world, centered in the North Atlantic (that is, Eu-

rope and the U.S.), and much of the developing world, especially Asia, is narrowing fast. With well over half the world's population, fast-growing Asia will also become the center of gravity of the world economy.

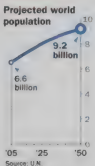
Second, the world's population will continue to rise, thereby amplifying the overall growth of the global economy. Not only are we each producing more output on average, but there will be many more of us by mid-century. The scale of the world's economic production by midcentury is therefore likely to be several times that of today.

Third, our bulging population and voracious use of the earth's resources are leading to unprecedented multiple environmental crises. Never before has the magnitude of human economic activity been large enough to change fundamental natural processes at the global scale, including the climate itself. Humanity has also filled the world's ecological niches; there is no place to run.

Fourth, while many of the poor are making progress, many of the very poorest are stuck at the bottom. Nearly 10 million children die each year because their families, communities and nations are too poor to sustain them. The instability of impoverished and water-stressed countries has ignited a swath of violence across the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. What we call violent fundamentalism should be seen for what it really is: poverty, hunger, water scarcity and despair.

These great challenges have not entirely escaped worldwide notice. In the past 20 years, world leaders on occasion have groped for ways to cope with them. In fact, they've achieved some important successes, and with considerable public support, which can provide a foothold for a sustainable future. We have adopted a global treaty for climate change; we have pledged to protect biodiversity; we are committed globally to fighting the encroachment of deserts in today's conflict-ridden dry lands of Africa, the Middle East and Asia. And the world has adopted the Millennium Development Goals to cut extreme poverty, hunger and disease by 2015. The challenge is to turn those fragile and unfulfilled global commitments into real solutions.

#### THE DATA



#### WHOM TO KNOW

##### Ahmed Mohammad

A native Kenyan and a scientist, he is a leader of sustainable development in Kenya's drylands

From *Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet*, by Jeffrey D. Sachs. © 2008 by Jeffrey D. Sachs. To be published by Penguin Press

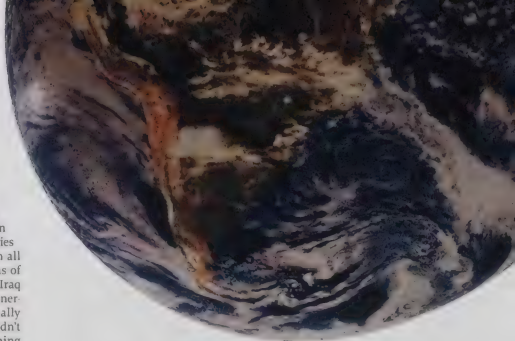
**1997 Climate change**  
The Kyoto Protocol mandates emissions cuts by industrialized nations

**1999 Human surge**  
World population hits 6 billion, doubling in size in 50 years

**2000 New resolutions**  
U.N. Millennium Development Goals address poverty and education

**2002 Health aid**  
The Global Fund is established to fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria

**2003 Going green**  
U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan calls for a green revolution in Africa



## Global Goals

WHEN IT COMES TO PROBLEM-solving on a global scale, we remain weighed down by cynicism, defeatism and outdated institutions. A world of untrammelled market forces and competing nation-states offers no automatic solutions to these challenges. The key will lie in developing new sustainable technologies and ensuring that they rapidly reach all those who need them. If the trillions of dollars that the U.S. is squandering in Iraq was instead being invested in clean energy, disease control and new, ecologically sound ways of growing food, we wouldn't be facing the cusp of a rapidly weakening dollar, soaring food and energy prices and the threats of much worse to come.

Here are four bold but achievable goals for the U.S. and the rest of the world:

- Sustainable systems of energy, land and resource use that avert the most dangerous trends of climate change, species extinction and destruction of ecosystems
- Stabilization of the world population at 8 billion or below by 2050, through a voluntary reduction of fertility rates, rather than the current trajectory of more than 9 billion by midcentury
- The end of extreme poverty by 2025, and improved economic security within the rich countries as well
- A new approach to global problem-solving based on cooperation among nations and the dynamism and creativity of the nongovernmental sector.

What will it take to attain these goals? The greatest successes in global cooperation combine four elements: a clear ob-

jective, an effective technology, a clear implementation strategy and a source of financing.

Smallpox eradication, for example, started with a clear objective (the eradication of the disease) and an effective vaccine. It built on a clear implementation strategy, in which smallpox vaccines were given for free on a mass basis, and local outbreaks were quickly isolated through careful surveillance and response. The effort was funded on a sustained basis by several donor governments, including the U.S.'s. Similarly, the Green Revolution in Asia, which lifted China and India out of chronic hunger, built on a clear objective (raising food yields), an effective technology (a combination of high-yield seeds, fertilizer and irrigation), a clear implementation strategy (mass distribution of the input package at below market cost) and large-scale funding (from the Ford and Rockefeller foundations and the U.S. government, in addition to local financing).

Other examples abound of measurable progress against once daunting challenges: the rapid, if incomplete, expansion of primary schooling and literacy around the world; the systematic control of many killer diseases, including guinea worm disease, leprosy and African river blindness; and the voluntary decline of high fertility rates through access to family planning

in almost all parts of the world, with sub-Saharan Africa the last remaining region awaiting a "demographic transition."

We live in a time of cynicism about achieving global public goals, yet whenever we have made the effort to mobilize our powerful technologies, we have succeeded. Measles deaths in Africa are down more than 90% in the past seven years, at a time when many people mistakenly believe that nothing can be accomplished in large parts of Africa. Polio is nearly eradicated. Food production is soaring in Ethiopia and Malawi because modern farming techniques have been brought to peasant communities. Children have filled the schools wherever school meal programs are introduced and school fees are dropped. There is no shortage of examples of how we can attain our goals, only a shortage of will and stamina so far to carry these successes to scale, and to other vital arenas.

Our generation's great environmental challenges can be met with similar resolve and technological focus. Climate change threatens our food supplies, coastlines, health and the survival of countless species. Yet powerful technological solutions are within reach. Coal-fired power plants can capture and store the carbon dioxide that they produce, rather than releasing the carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

## The defining challenge of the 21st century will be to face the reality that humanity shares a common fate on a crowded planet

**2015 Turning the corner**  
Target date for completion of Millennium Development Goals

**2025 End of poverty?**  
Date by which income of all the world's poorest can be lifted above \$1 per day

**2030 Fuel economy**  
Plug-in hybrids and new technologies produce 100-m.p.g. cars

**2040 Zero emissions**  
Goal for halting climate change through renewable energy and other steps

**2050 Stabilization**  
World population hits 8 billion, managed through sustainable development



Plug-in hybrid automobiles, nearly ready for the market, have the potential to quadruple our miles per gallon. Solar energy, concentrated by rapidly improving systems of parabolic mirrors, could be deployed in Africa's great desert and dry-land regions to provide electricity for Africa and Southern Europe at a cost competitive with fossil fuels. New land-management strategies, backed by modest financial incentives, could end most of today's tropical deforestation, which now contributes around one-fifth of all global carbon emissions as well as causing a massive loss of biodiversity. And all these steps to sustainable energy, according to today's best economic and engineering evidence, can be implemented for less than 1% of annual world income.

## Beyond Markets

IF THE SOLUTIONS ARE SO ATTAINABLE, why haven't we reached them already? Part of the reason is that we are facing our problems in the wrong way. We are so convinced that the problems are intractable—or deathly expensive to solve—that paralysis reigns. Even when we are aware of what needs to be done, we are often trapped by a free-market ideology, the same kind of no-regulation policy that has led us into our current financial crisis.

On the three great challenges—environmental sustainability, a stable world population and the end of extreme poverty—market forces will not be enough. The world's producers and consumers currently regard the air as a free dumping ground for carbon dioxide and other climate-changing greenhouse gases.



## Tune In

To watch a two-part TIME/*World News* with Charles Gibson series about the future, visit [abcnews.com](http://abcnews.com) and click on "World News."

## Learn More

To read more on sustainable development, including essays by Rajendra Pachauri, Jakaya Kikwete and E.O. Wilson, go to [time.com/whatsnext](http://time.com/whatsnext)

We need to correct market forces—for example, by taxing carbon emissions that are offset by tax reductions elsewhere—in order to create the right incentives. We need to expand greatly our public investments in early-stage clean technologies, such as improved solar-thermal power and carbon capture and sequestration, just as the National Institutes of Health uses public funding to support medical breakthroughs.

Similarly, population stabilization in poor countries requires a determined public investment—in girls' education, health services and child survival—to promote a rapid and voluntary reduction in birth rates. And we should first help the poorest of the poor to get above survival levels of income before we can expect market forces to lift them further, to market-driven prosperity.

None of this is expensive, but none of it can happen by itself. Indeed, it is the low cost of success that is perhaps the most remarkable feature of all. Consider malaria, the great African killer disease. Three hundred million antimalaria bed nets are needed to protect impoverished Africans from the disease. Each net costs \$5 and lasts five years, for a total cost of \$1.5 billion over five years. Yet that is less than one day's Pentagon spending! Add in the costs of medicines and ongoing delivery services, and we find that comprehensive malaria control would cost less than two days' Pentagon spending each year. Sustainable development will not break the bank. The key is, rather, to make the right choices in our public investments and to find ways to harness, and channel, market forces.

## The Power of One

GREAT SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS—the end of slavery, the women's and civil rights movements, the end of colonial rule, the birth of environmentalism—all began with public awareness and engagement. Our political leaders followed rather than led. It was scientists, engineers, churchgoers and young people who truly led the way. If as citizens we vote for war, then war it will be. If instead we support a global commitment to sustainable development, then our leaders will follow, and we will find a way to peace.

Each of us has a role to play and a chance for leadership. First, study the problems—in school, in reading, on the Web. Second, when possible, travel. There is no substitute for seeing extreme poverty, or deforestation, or the destructive forces

# Sustainable development will not break the bank. The key is to make the right choices in our public investments and to find ways to harness, and channel, market forces

of nature in New Orleans, to understand our generation's real challenges. There is no substitute for meeting and engaging with people across cultures, religions and regions to realize that we are all in this together. Third, get your business, community, church or student group active in some aspect of sustainable development. Americans are promoting the control of malaria, the spread of solar power, the end of polio and the reversal of treatable blindness, to name just a few of today's inspiring examples of private leadership. Finally, demand that our politicians honor our nation's global promises and commitments on climate change and the fight against hunger and poverty. If the public leads, politicians will surely follow.

Our generation's greatest challenges—in environment, demography, poverty and global politics—are also our most exciting opportunity. Ours is the generation that can end extreme poverty, turn the tide against climate change and head off a massive, thoughtless and irreversible extinction of other species. Ours is the generation that can, and must, solve the unresolved conundrum of combining economic well-being with environmental sustainability. We will need science, technology and professionalism, but most of all we will need to subdue our fears and cynicism. John F. Kennedy reminded us that peace will come by recognizing our common wealth. "If we can not end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal."

*Sachs, author of The End of Poverty, directs the Earth Institute at Columbia University*

About 1.6 million people die of tuberculosis (TB) each year - mostly in developing nations lacking access to fast, accurate testing technology.

TB is the current focus of the Foundation for Innovative New Diagnostics (FIND), established with funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. FIND is dedicated to the advancement of diagnostic testing for infectious diseases in developing countries. For more information, visit [www.finddiagnostics.org](http://www.finddiagnostics.org).



A young girl reveals hope in India, which carries one-third of the global burden of TB.

## Partnering against TB

Twenty-two developing countries carry the burden of 80 percent of the world's cases of TB, the second-leading killer among infectious diseases and primary cause of death among people with HIV/AIDS. The problem is compounded by TB's resistance to drug treatment, limiting the options for over 450,000 patients annually.

BD is pleased to work with FIND to provide equipment, reagents, training and support to the public health sector in high-burdened countries on terms that will enable them to purchase and implement these on a sustainable basis.

The BD MGIT™ (Mycobacteria Growth Indicator Tube) system can shorten the recovery of TB in

culture from 42 days to as little as 10-14 days. In addition, by identifying resistance to specific drugs, the BD MGIT™ system provides fast and reliable information that can help physicians prescribe more effective treatments. All this can contribute to the reduction in spread and mortality of TB, particularly in the HIV/AIDS population, where it is especially difficult to diagnose.

Named one of America's Most Admired Companies<sup>1</sup> as well as one of the World's Most Ethical Companies,<sup>2</sup> BD provides advanced medical technology to serve the global community's greatest needs.

BD - Helping all people live healthy lives.

<sup>1</sup> Source of all statistics cited: StopTB/  
World Health Organization, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> FORTUNE, March 19, 2007

<sup>3</sup> Ethisphere™ Magazine, April 2007

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Helping all people  
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WORLD TB DAY • MARCH 24, 2008



## #2 The End of Customer Service.

With self-serve technology, you'll never have to see a clerk again

BY BARBARA KIVIAT

THE PEOPLE OF MEMPHIS HAD NEVER SEEN anything like it. When Clarence Saunders opened his first Piggly Wiggly in 1916, a grocery store was a place where you told the clerk behind the counter what you wanted and he fetched it. In Saunders' store, patrons roamed freely among shelves packed with goods. They took what they wanted and paid on the way out. The "self-serving store," as Saunders called it in his patent application, revolutionized retail, much as ATMs and pump-your-own gas later re-engineered other industries.

Yet it was all simply prelude. Only now are technology and public sentiment aligning to truly shift the responsibility of collecting goods and services to the consumer. Consider the last time you rang up your own purchase at Wal-Mart, checked into a hotel at a kiosk or bought a ticket from a machine in the lobby of a movie theater. Companies love self-service for the money it saves, and with consumers finally playing along, the need

### THE DATA

Projected spending at self-service kiosks

\$1.3 trillion +



Source: IHL Group



### WHOM TO KNOW

**Bill Nutt**

The CEO of NCR, which creates self-service systems, is influential in getting companies to adopt do-it-yourself technology

to interact with human beings is quickly disappearing.

Now that companies have gotten you used to the idea, they are poised to go all the way. The British retailer Tesco has opened dozens of its Fresh & Easy grocery stores in the U.S.; all the lanes are self-checkout. By summer, Alaska Airlines will finish building its "Airport of the Future" in Seattle. The ticket counter has been obliterated; only islands of self-check-in kiosks remain. In Britain, NCR, a company that sells self-service systems, is trying out machines that let customers not only buy merchandise on their own but also return it. In Malaysia, IBM has outfitted a chain of sushi restaurants with ordering screens linked to the kitchen; so much for waitresses. And in Pennsylvania, Heritage Valley Health System will soon join the ranks of hospitals using check-in kiosks for emergency-room visits. Simply touch the image of the human body where it hurts.

Increased efficiency and cost savings aren't the only result. Slowly, we are separating services from the places where we are used to receiving them. Continental Airlines is testing a program that would allow pda users to wirelessly check their flight's standby list. No need to talk to a counter agent anymore, let alone be in the same terminal. For supermarkets, Motorola makes a handheld scanner that customers carry around; it lets them ring up and bag groceries as they go.

Of course, clerks aren't completely going away. You just don't have to see them. "We've all had the pushy salesperson," says NCR CEO Bill Nutt. "Business will get smarter about when to serve you."

The less chummy way to look at it is that we're doing the work of employees without being paid. "The company is more productive, but we're shifting work to consumers. So from a macro perspective, are we more productive or less?" asks Mary Jo Bitner of the Center for Services Leadership at Arizona State University. And by adding all these new tasks to our daily routine, are we overstressing ourselves and reducing our quality of life? It's an interesting debate. Just don't expect to have it with a clerk. ■

**1902 Later, waiter**  
Based on a German idea, Horn & Hardart's Automat debuts in Philadelphia

**1916 A super market**  
Piggly Wiggly, the first self-serve grocery store, opens in Memphis

**1947 In the driver's seat**  
George Unix introduces self-pumped gas at his California service stations

**1967 Teller goodbye**  
Barclays bank installs one of the world's first ATMs at a London branch

**1995 Flying solo**  
Alaska Airlines sells an airplane ticket over the Internet for the first time

2640  
MORE  
STEPS?  
JUST TO  
WORK OFF  
THIS  
WATER?



SOME VITAMIN ENHANCED WATERS  
ARE ENHANCED WITH 125 CALORIES.\*

flavor, vitamins,  
25 calories.\* | how fit is  
your water?



# #3 The Post-Movie-Star Era. Get ready for more films in which the leading man is not "he" but "who?"

BY RICHARD CORLISS

A FEW MONTHS AGO, I SAT WITH THREE of the most popular actors of the past few decades—Robert Redford, Meryl Streep and Tom Cruise—who were promoting their new film, *Lions for Lambs*. I posed to them an indelicate question: Are movie stars obsolete? Consternation erupted as the three quickly and forcefully dismissed the idea. And why shouldn't they? They had nearly a century of movie history on their side.

The notion of star quality, of the famous face and magnetic personality that get the mass audience into theaters, has been an article of film-industry faith ever since Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford became worldwide sensations in the infant medium back around 1914. Over the years, almost everything else about movies changed, but one tenet held firm: the name above the title sold tickets. That's why the top stars could earn \$25 million a picture—because they were the surest guarantee of a return on investment.

Except now they're not. Indeed, we may be in Hollywood's first poststar era.

If you judge movie stardom by the actors who headline the biggest hits, then the top stars of 2007 include Tobey Maguire (*Spider-Man 3*), Shia LaBeouf (*Transformers*), Daniel Radcliffe (*Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*) and Gerard Butler (*300*). Each of these films took in more than \$200 million at the domestic box office, or more than three times as much as the political comedy *Charlie Wilson's War*, with a cast headed by Tom

## THE DATA

Stars vs. nonstars at the box office

Tobey Maguire  
*Spider-Man 3*  
\$337 million

Shia LaBeouf  
*Transformers*  
\$319 million

Gerard Butler  
*300*  
\$211 million

Russell Crowe  
*A Good Year*  
\$7.5 million

Brad Pitt  
*The Assassination ...*  
\$4 million

George Clooney  
*The Good German*  
\$1.3 million



## WHOM TO KNOW

**Ellen Page**

This nervy Nova Scotian, 21, helped make *Juno* a surprise hit. Next up: the ensemble comedy-drama *Smart People*



Hanks and Julia Roberts. Among actresses in the year's releases, the big star was Ellen Page, whose low-budget *Juno* has made \$138 million domestically. Doesn't she deserve an eight-figure contract for her next film?

No, because even studio bosses know that, appealing as Page may have been, what drew crowds to *Juno* was story and attitude. Those are the lures of indie films, as surely as comic-book grandeur is the sine qua non for today's franchise blockbusters.

Meanwhile, star vehicles keep tanking. One reason is salutary: being in a string of hits no longer matters much to many stars. They have a taste for the off-Hollywood project that wouldn't be made if they weren't in it and that can stretch their talents even as it challenges their fans. Bravo for all this pro bono work. Still, you have to ask why *The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford*, with Brad Pitt as the outlaw hero and Oscar-nominated Casey Affleck as his nemesis, should cadge a mere \$4 million domestically or why *The Good German*, a spy thriller starring Maguire, Cate Blanchett and George Clooney—"the last movie star"—should earn a pitiful \$1.3 million.

Every trend needs an exception, and Hollywood still has a guy whose movies are sure-shot smashes: Will Smith. (Matt Damon and Adam Sandler are also reliable hitmakers if they stick to their respective action and farce genres.) And yes, it's always possible that we're at the dawn of a new star era—that LaBeouf and Page will be the Hanks and Roberts of the next decade.

But with Hollywood getting most of its revenue from no-name epics and nonstar animated features like *Ratatouille* and *Alvin and the Chipmunks*, the moguls will realize that big names no longer mean big grosses. Just ask Redford, Streep and Cruise (but not to their faces). The movie they starred in last fall earned only \$15 million domestically. Which suggests that the industry should stop paying for the pricey lions and place their bets on a flock of fresh lambs. ■

## 1910s Stars rise

Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford sell the new medium around the world

## 1930s Stars shine

Studios ensure stability by signing their A-list actors to long-term contracts

## 1950s Shooting stars

Top talent (John Wayne, Burt Lancaster) become their own producers

## 1970s Stars fade

All-star vehicles give way to nonstar fantasies like *Star Wars* (and later *E.T.*)

## 2000s Lights out

Old-style stars risk falling into the black hole of no-name epics and indies





#### RAV4

No matter how lost the city makes you feel, it's comforting to know the RAV4 is engineered to handle it all. With Vehicle Stability Control, 166 hp and an EPA 27 MPG hwy rating,\* solving the city has never been easier. Learn more at [toyota.com/rav4](http://toyota.com/rav4)

Vehicle shown with optional equipment. \*2009 EPA-estimated 27 highway MPG for RAV4 4-cylinder 2WD models. Actual mileage will vary. ©2007 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.

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moving forward

# #4 Reverse Radicalism

**Want to stop terrorism?  
Start talking to terrorists  
who stop themselves**

BY AMANDA RIPLEY



# THE DATA



**170 Prisoners currently incarcerated for jihadi crimes in Indonesia**

**24 Persuaded to cooperate with police**

**151 Released after serving time**



## WHOM TO KNOW

### Nasir Abas

The former Jemaah Islamiyah official says the Koran bars the killing of civilians

**S**ERIOUS STUDY OF TERRORISM has, for the past 20 years, been fixated on one question. That question, so teasingly close to the right one, is, Why do people join terrorist groups?

The better the study, the more muddled the findings. Would be terrorists are "unremarkable people" living "unremarkable lives," concluded a 2007 report by the New York City police department. Humans do not join terrorist groups because they are poor, oppressed or religious. They seem to join in search of purpose, excitement or status. They seem to be fighting loneliness. But then again, not always.

The smarter question, the one experts have now begun to ask, is, Why do people leave terrorist groups? John Horgan, a Penn State psychologist, has interviewed 28 former terrorists. His subjects have spanned 13 organizations, including five Islamic extremist groups. The men have told him strikingly similar stories of disenchantment. "I was stunned by the common denominators between members of the IRA and members of Jemaah Islamiyah [a militant Islamist group in Southeast Asia with ties to al-Qaeda]."

Many said they'd been disappointed by the terrorist life. "The reality didn't live up to the fantasy," says Horgan. "The reality is depressing, stressful and generally not what people expect." And in that disconnect lies opportunity. Nearly a dozen countries, including the U.S. in Iraq, have recently started programs to educate radicals about the gap between their religious ideals and the groups they follow—to essentially force the disenchantment process with the help of clerics and ex-terrorists. "We've been fighting the wrong battle," says Frank Gilluffo, a former White House Homeland Security official who is researching deradicalization at George Washington University. "The real center of gravity of the enemy is their narrative. It is ideologically bankrupt."

NASIR ABAS BELONGED TO JEMAAH ISLAMIAH and its predecessor groups for 18

years. At a Jakarta coffee shop in February, he explained to TIME why he joined. "You have to remember how it was in those days. Muslims all over the world witnessed the suffering of their brothers and sisters," he says, sounding very much like a modern-day jihadi. When his teachers invited him to leave his native Malaysia to go to Afghanistan, he was thrilled. "I found it very heroic, a dream come true."

Nasir became a weaponry instructor at a *mujahedin* training camp. "Give me any kind of weapon that no longer works, I can make it work perfectly again," he says with a small smile, holding his coffee cup close. Eventually, he rose to head Mantiqi Three, Jemaah Islamiyah's training unit.

On Christmas Eve 2000, a wave of Jemaah Islamiyah church bombings killed 19 in Indonesia. Nasir heard about it on the news, and he was distraught. "It was against the teachings of the Prophet, which bar Muslims from destroying places of

worship." Then in 2002, a massive bombing rocked a Bali nightclub, killing 202. Nasir had trained two of the men involved. "I felt really troubled," he says. "I tried to talk to people in the organization, but what could you do when they wouldn't listen?"

On April 18, 2003, the police forced the issue. Nasir was arrested in East Jakarta and sent to prison for 10 months on immigration charges. He cooperated in order to get a shorter sentence and because, he says, he was tired of the lies. Nasir helped put away several Bali plotters, and he published a 2005 book arguing against killing civilians. "It's well defined in the Koran whom we are supposed to fight. It is not justifiable to kill anyone who is innocent."

Today, as an adviser to Indonesia's anti-terrorism squad, Special Detachment 88, Nasir visits ex-comrades in jail to persuade them to cooperate and speaks critically of Jemaah Islamiyah in the media. So far, the program has helped disengage two dozen Jemaah Islamiyah members, according to the independent International Crisis Group.

Similar programs exist in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Singapore and Britain. Data on success rates are scarce, which is a problem. But even the U.S. military is paying attention: some of the 25,000 detainees in Iraq have started taking religious enlightenment classes. Major General Douglas Stone, who oversees U.S. detention centers there, has said re-education helps "knock the edge off" detainees who don't understand Islam.

Such experiments can be expected to be messy. Of all the men he has interviewed, Horgan says, none are truly deradicalized. Disengagement is more realistic. Nasir still supports the creation of an Islamic state and says Muslims have a right to kill U.S. soldiers in Iraq. When he recalls turning in former comrades, he becomes visibly upset. "I felt very sad. You will never be able to imagine how I felt." His eyes look defeated. He asks TIME not to name the coffee shop. Then he leaves, returning to the netherworld between the masses and the margins. —WITH REPORTING BY ZAMIRA LOEBIS/JAKARTA ■

## 2002 Yemen

One of the first deradicalization initiatives begins in Yemen

## 2003 Singapore

Volunteer clerics start counseling detainees and their families

## 2004 Saudi Arabia

At a former resort, radicals get counseling and job training

## 2005 Yemen revisited

Program cut back after half of 400 alumni found to have been rearrested

## 2007 Egypt

From prison, Egyptian Islamic Jihad founder pens a book critical of al-Qaeda

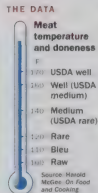
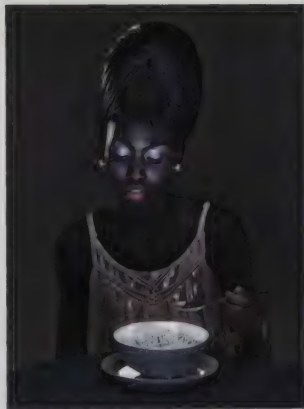
# #5 Kitchen Chemistry. Why the squishy art of cooking is giving way to cold, hard science

BY JOEL STEIN

YOU'VE BEEN COOKING LIKE AN IDIOT. YOU press on meat and compare it with the flesh on your hand to guess how rare it is; you throw spaghetti at the wall to see if it's done; you add an amount of salt that looks pretty when it's in your palm. If people made medicine this way, we'd all be dead.

Home cooks are about to learn what Kraft Foods and McDonald's have known for more than 50 years: placing food over heat is science, not art. The resistance to food science (the phrase stinks of school cafeterias, Velveeta and those weird colored balls they sell at ball games as the dystopian "ice cream of the future") has grown stronger with the local, organic and slow-food movements. But resistance is futile. And misguided. "Maybe part of the fear is Soyless Green," says NYU chemistry professor Kent Kirshenbaum, who co-founded the Experimental Cuisine Collective, which explores scientific principles that can be applied to cooking—like finding a replacement for the powder from threatened orchid tubers that's used to make a stretchy Turkish ice cream called *salep dondurma*. "There's been some confusion about whether or not our approach toward taking a scientific understanding of foods has to do with artificial foods and the processing of foods." But Kirshenbaum is dedicated to fresh ingredients. You can have your organic vegetables and eat them as hydrocolloids too.

As fewer people actually do any cooking—because prepared dishes at supermarkets, meal-prep kitchens and restaurants will get even cheaper—the remaining brave cooks are going a little mad scientist. This paradigm shift won't be such a big deal in practice. Your oven is pretty much an advanced science gadget already, you use meat thermometers, and that measuring cup looks an awful lot like a beaker. You're just going to have to step it up a little: replace that liquid measuring cup with a more accurate dry-weight scale;



**WHOM TO KNOW**  
**Harold McGee**  
His book *On Food and Cooking* laid the groundwork for science to enter the kitchen

get a vacuum sealer like that FoodSaver gadget and a Crock-Pot that stays at a precise temperature so you can *sous vide* meat (which involves cooking it in a bag for a long time in a low-temperature water bath); learn how to use simple chemicals like agar-agar and xanthan gum (just better versions of gelatin and cornstarch, really); review a little high school chemistry. No big deal.

It's going to mean cooking a little more carefully, like you would bake. Which will be made easier through gadgetry. Speed ovens like the TurboChef circulate hot air at up to 60 m.p.h. (almost 100 km/h), making precise temperature changes so simple, you don't even know they're occurring. (A 3½-lb. [1.5 kg] chicken cooks in 14 min.) And in-

duction cooktops are more than twice as energy efficient as gas burners, allowing for quicker temperature changes.

Sure, some cookbooks will need to be rewritten, but stuff is always getting updated online, so you won't even notice. "Transition temperatures for every protein in an egg or meat are pretty well known," says Harold McGee, author of *On Food and Cooking: The Science and Lore of the Kitchen*. "In industries, that information is used to optimize processes. That kind of information hasn't entered the home kitchen yet. There's a pretty big difference between heating an egg at 60°C and 61°C." Kraft Foods knows that, and soon you will too. Whether you want to or not.

**1969 Meal genius**  
Atomic physicist Nicholas Kurti debuts molecular gastronomy in London

**1992 Feast of ideas**  
First international molecular-gastronomy workshop is held in Erice, Italy

**1994 A new formula**  
Renowned chef Ferran Adrià creates food lab at Spain's El Bulli restaurant

**2007 Mass appeal**  
Top Chef's Marcel Vigneron brings molecular gastronomy to reality TV

**2007 Ready to serve**  
NYU forms Experimental Cuisine Collective to solve food puzzles with science

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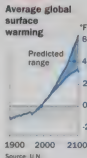
# #6 Geoengineering. Messing with nature caused global warming. Messing with it more might fix it

BY BRYAN WALSH

I'M GOING TO TELL YOU SOMETHING I PROBABLY SHOULDN'T: we may not be able to stop global warming. The Arctic Ocean, which experienced record melting last year, could be ice-free in the summer as soon as 2013, decades ahead of what the earlier models told us. We need to begin curbing global greenhouse emissions right now, but more than a decade after the signing of the Kyoto Protocol, the world has utterly failed to do so.

For most environmentalists, the answer to that depressing litany is to keep pushing the same message harder: cut carbon and cut it now. But a few scientists are beginning to quietly raise the possibility of cooling the planet's fever directly through geoengineering. The principle behind it is straightforward—compensate for an intensified greenhouse effect by reducing the amount of solar radiation reaching the

## THE DATA



## WHOM TO KNOW

**Paul Crutzen**  
The Nobel Prize winner made geoengineering safe to discuss when he wrote a 2006 paper in favor of more research

earth—but the techniques seem like pure science fiction. Just a few: using orbital mirrors to bounce sunlight back into space, fertilizing the oceans with iron to amplify their ability to absorb carbon and even painting roofs white to increase solar reflection.

Geoengineering has long been the province of kooks, but as the difficulty of reducing greenhouse-gas emissions has become harder to ignore, it is slowly emerging as an option of last resort. The tipping point came in 2006, when the Nobel Prize-winning atmospheric scientist Paul Crutzen published an editorial examining the possibility of releasing vast amounts of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere to create a haze that would keep the planet cool. "Over the past couple of years, it's gone from an outsider thing to something that is increasingly discussed," says Ken Caldeira of the Carnegie Institution for Science at Stanford University.

Caldeira modeled the effects on climate that Crutzen's notion of spreading sulfur particles into the air would have and found that geoengineering might be able to compensate for a doubling of the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Even more impressive was the price tag: somewhere between a few hundred million dollars and a couple of billion dollars a year, compared with the unknowable cost of decarbonizing the entire world. But the drawbacks are serious. Worsening air pollution is a risk. We'd have to keep geoengineering indefinitely to balance out continued greenhouse-gas emissions, and the motivation to decarbonize might disappear if we believed we had an insurance policy. And those are just the consequences we know about.

But the truth is, we're already performing an unauthorized experiment on our climate by adding billions of tons of man-made carbon dioxide to the atmosphere. Unless the geopolitics of global warming change soon, the Hail Mary pass of geoengineering might become our best shot. ■



**1969 Soviet science**  
Russian Mikhail Budyko shows that the ice-albedo effect cools the earth

**1991 Natural engineering**  
Mount Pinatubo erupts, releasing sulfur, which lowers world temperatures

**1997 Teller's bombshell**  
Atomic scientist Edward Teller writes an editorial hyping geoengineering

**2006 Nobel name-check**  
Paul Crutzen's paper pushes geoengineering into the mainstream

**2008 Funding the future**  
The geoengineering start-up Climos secures \$3.5 million in initial funding



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# #7 Synthetic Authenticity

Jaded buyers love 'real' products—  
or at least ones that fake it well

BY JOHN CLOUD

**N**OT LONG AGO I FOUND MYSELF in a Hermitage, Tenn., supermarket studying a bottle of something called All-Purpose Bourbon Chicken Grill-n-Dip. At the bottom of the label were the words AUTHENTIC FOOD COURT FLAVOR.

It seemed like a joke at first. A sauce surely can't be authentic if it tastes of a food court and not, say, of your mother's stove. But it wasn't a joke. Promoting products as "authentic" is serious business these days. You will notice the word and its variants being used to sell just about everything—Stoli vodka (whose new ad campaign urges you to "Choose Authenticity"), Kool cigarettes ("Be Authentic"), the now expired presidential campaign of Mike Huckabee (who called himself an "authentic conservative"), the website Highbrowfurniture.com ("Authenticity. Period.™"), the Claddagh Irish Pub chain (which claims to have an "authentic 'public house' environment," whatever that is) and the state of Maryland, where "even the fun is authentic."

Legendary business consultants James Gilmore and Joseph Pine II have written a book about what all these claims mean. In *Authenticity* (Harvard Business School Press), they argue that the virtualization of life (friends aren't friends unless you "confirm" them on Facebook; reporters are now all bloggers, and vice versa) has led to a deep consumer yearning for the authentic. America has "toxic levels of inauthenticity," Gilmore and Pine argue: most of the e-mail we get is fake. It's so

difficult to reach a real person via an 800 number that we had to invent a heretofore unnecessary location—*real person*—to describe the entity we are trying to reach. People live fake lives in *Second Life*. Corporate deceit reached epidemic levels after the dotcom bust. Depending on your politics, you might add that there were no WMD.

Gilmore and Pine run an Aurora, Ohio, consulting firm called Strategic Horizons that has an almost cultlike following in the business world because of their ability to accurately predict consumer sentiments. Nine years ago, in their first book, they argued that businesses had to start selling experiences—not mere products—in order to survive the new economy. *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage* made the case that goods and services were being so thoroughly commoditized by Wal-Mart and the Internet that companies would fail unless they could create such diverting shopping experiences that customers would pay more for the same stuff they could buy for less elsewhere. The book helped explain the success of Starbucks, which sold not just coffee but an Italian coffeehouse experience. The Geek Squad was another example: the company thrived by staging computer repair as theater. Its repairmen arrive at your door literally in costume. *The Experience Economy* became a sensation in business circles.

Gilmore and Pine write as much about culture as about business, and their new book on authenticity has crystallized the interaction between self and commerce in the

## THE DATA

### The authenticity matrix

GOOD	
Las Vegas	iPods
Reality TV	John Deere
Camden Yards	tractors
	The Office
BAD	
Hallmark	iPhones
Home-shopping networks	Canyon Ranch spas
Recent children's fantasy not by J.K. Rowling	Farmers' markets



## WHOM TO KNOW

### James Gilmore and Joseph Pine II

Master consultants and authors of *Authenticity* and *The Experience Economy*

#### 1800s Whole food

The age of commodities; you bought whole coffee beans

#### 1900-50 Ground zero

The age of goods; you bought preground coffee beans

#### 1960s-80s Cup fever

The age of services; you bought a cup of joe at the local diner

#### 1990s Live the dream

The age of experiences; you bought a latte at Starbucks

#### Right now Bean there

The age of authenticity; you buy whole coffee beans again

current era the way *The Experience Economy* did for the late 1990s. The aura of inauthenticity around some brands is killing them, Gilmore and Pine say. Just look at Sharper Image and all its shiny gewgaws—or Lillian Vernon, which sells tacky jewelry and fake “Forever Fresh” daisies. Both companies filed for bankruptcy last month. “What [consumers] buy must reflect who they are and who they aspire to be in relation to how they perceive the world—with lightning-quick judgments of ‘real’ or ‘fake’ hanging in the balance,” Gilmore and Pine write.

## Behavioral Economics

STANDARD ECONOMIC THEORY ASSUMES that buyers are rational creatures who observe supply-and-demand laws. For centuries, this model worked pretty well to explain most economic activity. Two hundred years ago, agrarian Americans decided whether to buy a hoe mainly on the basis of whether it was available and affordable. But in the past 20 years, a school of behavioral economists has emerged to point out the obvious: consumers with higher living standards often make stupid, irrational decisions. We don’t simply look at price and quality; we decide how we *feel* about a refrigerator or even a pair of socks before we buy.

Authenticity is a way of understanding this concept. Some see the iPhone as a silly pose; others find Apple products genuine because of their unique design and “Think Different” posture. Gilmore and Pine give a name to this ephemeral dimension of consumer behavior: in addition to the established dimensions of availability, price and quality, we are buying according to authenticity. If Gilmore and Pine are right, the dominant business polarity of the past decade—online vs. off-line—is irrelevant. The crucial factor dividing success

from failure in the next few years will be whether a business is perceived as real or fake, authentic or inauthentic.

So how can companies deliver authenticity? What businesses will survive our jaded new form of capitalism? Gilmore and Pine offer two approaches. First, companies can strive to be transparent and exactly what they say they are. Chipotle Mexican Grill—“Food with Integrity”—goes for this approach, as does Honest Tea, the clothier Anthropologie, and Ethos water. These companies use the holier-than-thou strategy. Chipotle, for instance, serves meat only from animals that have never received antibiotics. But striving for complete authenticity can be dangerous. If tainted meat is found in a Chipotle outlet, the reaction could be something like what happened when JetBlue—which claimed to be the passenger-friendly airline—stranded travelers on runways for hours during a February 2007 snowstorm. JetBlue’s stock price has fallen from about \$12 a share to about \$5 a share. Gilmore and Pine note that “being perceived and branded as authentic puts a bull’s-eye on your back.”

The best strategy for many companies is to openly fake it, to poke fun at their marketing excesses and admit their inauthenticity. A good example: last fall Verizon (a Gilmore-Pine client) “advertised” on *30 Rock* with a product placement in which Alec Baldwin and Tina Fey extolled the virtues of Verizon phones; Fey then looked at the camera and said, “Can we have our money now?” Another example is Dave & Buster’s, the restaurant-arcade chain. Dave & Buster’s doesn’t pretend to be a real arcade; it’s a place where adults can drink a martini and play with little toy basketballs. And it’s thriving.

For the average U.S. company, Gilmore and Pine have simple advice: think less about where to put ads—ubiquity is killing advertising’s power—and more about how to shape the places customers interact with their products. Example: REI, the outdoor-gear company. In 1996 REI opened a flagship location in Seattle with a climbing wall and a walking trail. The climbing wall isn’t some little display—in fact you have to pay to use it. The location also features a meeting space for local nonprofits. The store was more ambitious than any other the company had built, but it has become the city’s No. 2 tourist attraction after Pike Place Market. Consumers bond with REI’s goods in a way they never will with an ad. True, only 1.6 million people a year visit the REI store,

## A school of ‘behavioral’ economists has emerged to point out the obvious: modern consumers make stupid decisions

but Gilmore and Pine reason that creating 1.6 million knowledgeable customers will be more lucrative than reaching 5 million with an ad campaign: “Stop saying what your offerings are through advertising and start creating places—permanent or temporary, physical or virtual—where people can experience what those offerings, as well as your enterprise, actually are.”

## Fake-Real

BUT WHAT IF YOU SELL SCREWDRIVERS OR bug spray? It may not be possible to create a “place” that offers an “authentic experience” that anyone would want. (“Tighten screws all day!” “Tour the mosquito museum!”) Actually, once I began to think like Gilmore and Pine, I found myself coming up with seemingly authentic experiences for even the most insipid products. Sell tools? Cover a huge wall with construction materials so customers can try the tools in the store. Bug spray? Try it on a roach. Little boys would love it.

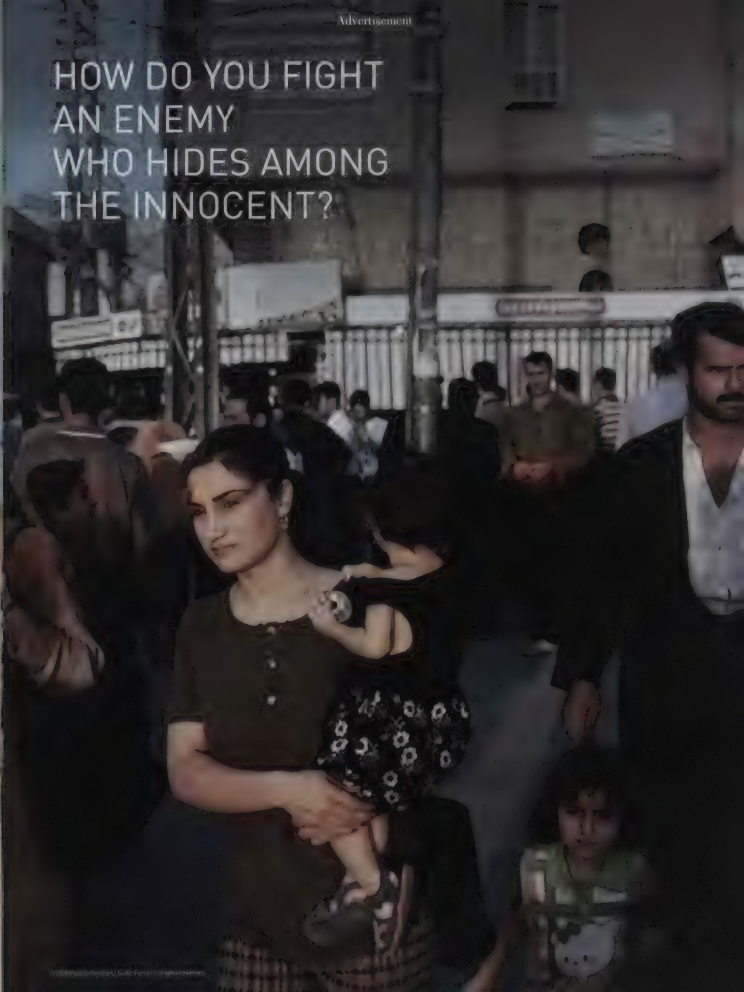
Gilmore and Pine understand that in an era when even Wal-Mart is selling organic mesclun and gourmet coffee, people want their purchases to elevate them, to transform them. They want products to connect them to history or to a cause (how many products are “green,” “raw” or “eco” something?). They don’t want to cook, but they do want the package on the manufactured food product to say USDA ORGANIC.

Does all this striving for authenticity make us more fake or more real? Gilmore and Pine offer a third option: “fake-real.” Economic offerings don’t have to be exactly what they say they are (Canyon Ranch isn’t really a ranch; *The Daily Show* isn’t really a news show), but they must be true to themselves (you actually can transform yourself at a spa; you actually can learn something from *The Daily Show*). Today you are authentic when you acknowledge just how fake you really are. ■





HOW DO YOU FIGHT  
AN ENEMY  
WHO HIDES AMONG  
THE INNOCENT?





## #8 The New Austerity. Get ready for something truly unheard of: an era of living within our means

BY JUSTIN FOX

JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS WITH A TENDENCY to see glasses as half empty have a long history of pronouncing the American consumer maxed out. "Time for a New Frugality," this magazine declared in 1973. "Over the Ears in Debt," it chimed in again in 1987.

It wasn't just TIME. Historian of credit Lendol Calder has assembled a long list of worried headlines through the decades: "Debt Threatens Democracy" (*Harper's*, 1940), "Is the Country Swamped with Debt?" (*Business Week*, 1949), "Never Have So Many Owed So Much" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 1959). And so on.

Amid all this hand-wringing, Americans have kept piling on more and more debt. The last significant episode of belt-tightening came during the recession of the early 1980s. But that turned out to be just the prelude to a quarter-century of growing profligacy, capped by a final half decade of mostly mortgage-related fun that will go down as one of the most reck-

less borrowing-and-lending binges ever.

Now that particular binge has come to a crashing end, and the credit worriers believe their moment may have finally arrived. "I'm not saying we're going back to our parents' level of frugality," says David Rosenberg, North American economist at Merrill Lynch. "But what we have witnessed in the past 20 to 30 years—and especially the parabolic credit growth of the last five years—is going to be bursting in the next decade."

Americans simply don't have enough money to pay back the mortgage and credit-card debt they've run up. That reality is forcing banks to retrench as loans gone bad shrink their capital bases and falling house prices shrink the collateral that homeowners can borrow against. And it will presumably force chastened consumers to change their ways as well. At least that's what Rosenberg is predicting. "It's an entirely new attitude toward debt," he says. "It is the new four-letter word."

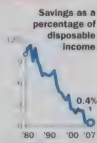
This will, if it doesn't get out of hand (as in Great Depression out of hand), be a healthy development. Currently intractable-seeming problems like the country's yawning trade deficits and its big future retirement bills would soon be reduced to a manageable size if Americans actually began spending less than they earned.

Several polls have shown that large majorities are planning to use the tax rebate coming later this year to pay off debt rather than buy new stuff. Beyond that, evidence of a major attitude change is still sparse.

"People are more aware than they were two years ago," says get-out-of-debt guru Dave Ramsey of the callers to his radio show, which airs on 350 stations around the country. "I don't know if they're doing anything about it."

Ramsey, who also has written a couple of best-selling advice books and is a regular on the new Fox Business Network, does allow himself to dream. "It's like a whole generation woke up one morning and realized that cigarettes kill you," he muses. "Maybe a whole generation will wake up and realize that collecting points on your Discover card doesn't make you rich." ■

### THE DATA



### WHOM TO KNOW

**Dave Ramsey**  
The Nashville-based get-out-of-debt guru and radio host may be about to get a much bigger following

**1956 Credit pioneer**  
Singer begins selling sewing machines on the installment plan

**1919 Car debt**  
General Motors Acceptance Corp. brings credit to car-buying

**1934 Home loans**  
The Federal Housing Administration pioneers the 30-year mortgage

**1958 The plastic era**  
Bank of America mails its first 60,000 credit cards in Fresno, Calif.

**2005 Mortgage mania**  
Sharp rise in the use of exotic mortgages fuels a housing bubble

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# #9 Mandatory Health. Bosses are trying to force their employees to live better. Yep, it's legal

BY LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN

IF HEALTH-CARE REFORM LAGS SLIGHTLY behind *American Idol* as a water-cooler topic in your office, it might be because you're one of the 160 million—or 3 out of 5 non-elderly Americans—whose employers pony up for your insurance. That cushy deal is changing, thanks to Americans' Oreo-eating, couch-hugging, nicotine-clinging ways. Soon the boss may tell employees to get healthy—or get lost.

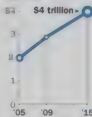
The health-care contract between American workers and their employers began when Franklin D. Roosevelt left health care out of his New Deal. Labor re-

strictions, tax breaks and accounting rules induced employers to offer private health insurance to workers. In 1940, 21 million Americans were enrolled in company-sponsored health plans; by 1950, 142 million. Privatized health insurance seemed like a glorious triumph for capitalism. Keep government out; let industry thrive!

Then costs exploded. Health-care expenditures in the U.S. totaled \$27 billion in 1960; in 2005, \$2 trillion. Oh, workers paid their part, in the form of premiums and co-pays. But as benefits grew more generous, employees' contributions shrank, from 48% of all health-care costs in 1960 to 15% in 2000, according to the *New England Journal of Medicine*. Employers balked. So, along came managed care, as well as a jumble of other cost-tamping innova-

## THE DATA

Projected health-care spending in the U.S.



Source: National Coalition on Health Care



## WHOM TO KNOW

**Annabelle Gurwirth**

Her documentary *Fired!* profiles a woman sacked for smoking

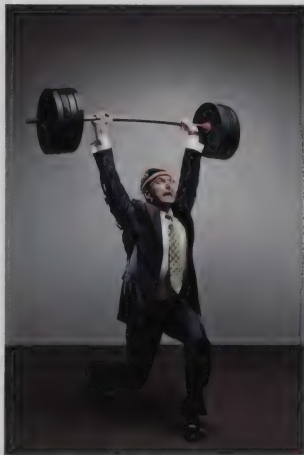
tions, including high-deductible plans and health-savings accounts.

The latest innovation may wind up having the biggest impact of all: a crackdown on workers' poor health habits involving both the carrot and the (cancer) stick. See, American workers today are about as fit as caged hamsters with all-day access to the nut bowl. Our collective obesity, inactivity and refusal to part with the smokes have led to diabetes, heart disease and cancer. Who foots the bill? The boss. Who gets the blame? The boss. More than half of us cite work demands for our refusal to put down the Ho Hos and do a push-up. Eighty-four percent of Americans say we'd get healthy—honest—if only the boss insisted.

The boss is insisting. Verizon Wireless, Microsoft and Dow Chemical dangle cash bonuses for workers who lose weight or stop smoking. A growing number of employers assign "health coaches" to monitor workers' diets and lifestyles. Two-thirds of companies offer so-called wellness programs. Office-furniture maker Steelcase is marketing a treadmill equipped with a computer: a hamster wheel with e-mail.

Some bosses are done being nice. They're firing workers for smoking, and they're screening job applicants for nicotine. Your home is no haven: Gary Ross of San Francisco was canned by a telecommunications company for using legal, medically prescribed marijuana to ease chronic back pain from injuries sustained in the Air Force. In December, a state court upheld the firing.

With costs rising, count on employers to keep truffling for ways to save a buck. Count on higher premiums and deductibles, tighter restrictions on treatments, more intrusive screening and monitoring. Don't be gobsmacked if genetic testing figures into employment sooner or later. Or if want ads begin to ask for—along with fluency in Java—a clean bill of health. ■



**2005 A crisis forecast**  
Studies find that 21% of U.S. adults smoke and 37% of workers are obese

**2005 Crackdown on cigs**  
Employees at Weyco in Michigan are fired for refusing a nicotine test

**2006 Fat and fired**  
A New York schoolteacher sues his district, claiming he was fired for obesity

**2007 Meddling approved**  
Department of Labor lets employers reward (or punish) worker lifestyles

**2008 Smoke alarm**  
Federal courts allow a fired smoker to pursue a privacy suit against boss



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# #10 Re-Judaizing Jesus. Scholars are now rereading the Gospels through the eyes of a Jew: Jesus

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA

RECENTLY A POPULAR BLOGGER—LET'S call him Rabbi Ben—zinged the scholarship of a man we shall call Rabbi Rob. R. Ben claimed R. Rob did not "understand the difference between Judaism prior to the two Jewish wars in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. and later Mishnaic and Talmudic Judaism." He helpfully provided a syllabus.

Actually, neither man is a rabbi. (Sorry.) Ben Witherington is a Methodist New Testament scholar, and Rob Bell a rising Michigan megapastor. Yet each regards sources like the Mishnah and Rabbi Akiva as vital to understanding history's best-known Jew: Jesus.

This is seismic. For centuries, the discipline of Christian "Hebraics" consisted primarily of Christians cherry-picking Jewish texts to support the traditionally assumed contradiction between the Jews—whose alleged dry legalism contributed to their fumbling their ancient tribal covenant with God—and Jesus, who personally embodied God's new covenant of love. But today seminaries across the Christian spectrum teach, as Vanderbilt University New Testament scholar Amy Jill Levine says, that "if you get the [Jewish] context wrong, you will certainly get Jesus wrong."

The shift came in stages: first a brute acceptance that Jesus was born a Jew and did Jewish things; then admission that he and his interpreter Paul saw themselves as Jews even while founding what became another faith; and today, recognition of what the Rev. Bruce Chilton, author of *Rabbi Jesus*, calls Jesus' passionate dedication "to Jewish ideas of his day" on everything from ritual purity to the ideal of the kingdom of God—ideas he reworked but did not abandon.

What does this mean, practically? At times the resulting adjustment seems simple. For example, Bell thinks he knows the mysterious words Jesus wrote in the dust



## THE DATA

Number of references to "Moses" in the Gospels. Scholars think most negative references to "the Jews" don't reflect Jesus' thought

Matthew 6

Mark 7

Luke 10

John 14



## WHOM TO KNOW

**Amy-Jill Levine**

Levine, who is Jewish, is a leading New Testament scholar

while defending the adulteress ("He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone," etc.). By Bell's calculation, that showdown occurred at the same time as religious Jews' yearly reading of the prophet Jeremiah's warning that "those who turn from [God] will be written in the dust because they have forsaken [him]." Thus Jesus wrote the crowd's names to warn that their lack of compassion alienated their (and his) God.

A trickier revision for readers involves Paul's Letter to the Romans, forever a key Christian text on sin and Christ's salvific grace. Yet this reading necessitates skipping over what seems like extraneous material in Chapters 9 through 11, which are about the Jews. Increasingly, says Jason Byassee, an editor at the *Christian Century*, scholars now read Romans *through* those chapters, as a musing by a lifelong Jew on how God can fulfill his biblical covenant with Israel even if it does not accept His son. Byassee the theologian agrees. But as a Methodist pastor, he frets that Romans "is no longer really about Gentile Christians. How do you preach it?"

That's not a frivolous query. Ideally, the reassessment should increase both Jewish-Christian amity and gospel clarity, things that won't happen if regular Christians feel that in rediscovering Jesus the Jew, they have lost Christ. Yet Bell finds this particular genie so logically powerful that he has no wish to rebottle it. Once in, he says, "you're in deep. You're hooked. 'Cause you can't ever read it the same way again." ■

## Ca. A.D. 60-90 How Jewish?

The four Gospels attach varying emphases to Jesus' Jewishness

## Ca. 1500 Discipline funded

First "Hebrew chair" established at the University of Louvain

## 1500-1900s Stanted

Christian "Hebraicists" use Jewish texts to serve Christian triumphalism

## 1985 The revisionist

Duke University's E.P. Sanders takes Jesus' Jewish context seriously

## 2007 Sea change

Most seminaries teach Jewish context. But will congregations buy it?



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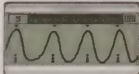
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The Washington Post

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# Life

We fuss over the impact of water containers on the environment but overlook their potential impact on our health

—TAMAR MCKENZIE, SEATTLE, WASH. DC

FOOD HEALTH RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY GOING GREEN

**Skillset,**  
**Seattle**  
*Customers rave about the dishes Robin Ludington makes inside an Airstream*

**FOOD**  
**Meals on Wheels.** Gourmet chefs are cooking and serving from kitchens in trucks

BY JOEL STEIN

THIS IS A DINING ALTERNATIVE THAT COULD not have existed 20 years ago. Your father did not think, Sure, I'd like some grilled wild salmon with roasted-shallot bread pudding—but I don't feel like sitting down to eat it. But gourmet-food trucks, staffed by trained chefs who have worked in high-end restaurants, have been appear-

Photograph for TIME by Charles Peterson

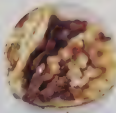


#### PAT'S TAQUERIA

**Where:** Kauai, Hawaii **Chef:** Pat Grenz

**Old job:** Kauai's Bar Acuda, where he worked under Jim Moffat, one of Hawaii's top chefs

**Known for:** Carne asada tacos, right, and fish tacos, made with mahimahi, ono or "whatever I can afford"

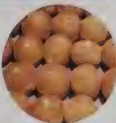


#### DESSERT TRUCK

**Where:** New York City **Chef:** Jerome Chang

**Old job:** French Culinary Institute graduate and former pastry sous-chef at Manhattan's tony Le Cirque

**Known for:** Crème brûlée, sandwich cookies and the Italian cream-filled doughnuts called bamboloni, right



ing on city streets throughout the country. "People in their 30s and late 20s are not caught up with trying to impress people by going to the most luxurious establishment and throwing money around," says Jerome Chang, 31, who dispenses \$5 crème brûlées out of the Dessert Truck in New York City. "It's about getting really good ingredients made with care and not about getting our egos stroked by being treated like a king."

Asia has always had great street food, and you can get perfect crepes in Paris and

### 'People in their 30s and late 20s are not caught up with trying to impress people.'

—JEROME CHANG, 31, CHEF AND CO-OWNER OF THE DESSERT TRUCK

amazing tacos in Mexico City. Now American food snobs are separating themselves from regular snobs by lining up outside food trucks. And they're willing to wait longer—and pay more—than at local fast-food restaurants. "In the beginning I was a little wigged out by the fact that people had to wait in line for 20 minutes, but I'm not going to precook burgers so that people can go home earlier," says Josh Henderson, 35, who makes dishes like the aforementioned wild salmon (\$8) and a Kobe-beef burger with bacon jam (\$7) at Skillet, his Airstream trailer in Seattle. Henderson opens the trailer window at 9 a.m. and often runs out of his organic, mostly locally sourced food by 1 p.m. His patrons eat it on the street, back in their offices or at a nearby park. He hopes to have three trucks and even a stationary take-out window by the end of the year. "But it's not going to be a take-out restaurant," he says. "It's going to be chefs handing people their food. Not waiters and waitresses."

Besides filling a market for healthy fast food that's really good, chefs are taking the wheel because working in a traditional kitchen sucks. "All these fine-dining restaurants work their cooks to the bone and pay them very little money, and the owners get rich," says Chang, who started his truck with a friend who attends Columbia's School of Business. Compared with restaurants, trucks have a lot less overhead, don't require managing a staff and focus on lunch, freeing chefs from working late nights and weekends. "I was a chef instructor here in Seattle for a year, and half the students don't want to work in restaurants," says Henderson. "In the next two years, you're going to see a ton of these popping up." ■



## HEALTH

# Freshen Up Your Drink. Reusing water bottles is good ecologically, but is it bad for your health? How to drink smart

BY LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN

DRINKING WATER SHOULD BE A GLORIOUSLY guilt-free activity. H<sub>2</sub>O won't make you fat, give you cancer or stain your teeth a revolting shade of yellow. It's second only to soda as the American beverage of choice, ever since marketers thought to package it for us in handy plastic bottles. But now the green lobby informs us we may as well be clubbing baby seals with our Evian bottles, so great is the environmental havoc wreaked by their manufacture and disposal. Some resourceful consumers have taken to reusing the containers multiple times; others have switched to reusable water bottles.

While we fuss over the impact of water containers on the environment, however, most of us have overlooked their potential impact on our health. Many water bottles on the market, like many soda containers,

are made of a hard plastic called polyethylene terephthalate, or PET. While the material is perfectly safe for single use, it's not designed for repeated reuse, says Kellogg Schwab, an environmental microbiologist at Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health: "Your mouth leaves a film that harbors bacteria, and the bottle's narrow mouth makes it hard to clean."

Reusable water bottles merit scrutiny as well. Like many rock climbers, Scott Belcher used to carry a Nalgene water bottle made of polycarbonate, a sturdy, clear plastic. As an associate pharmacology professor at the University of Cincinnati, he knew that polycarbonates contain bisphenol A (BPA), a synthetic hormone that mimics estrogen. What he didn't know was if or how much BPA wound up in his water. In experiments, he learned that trace amounts of BPA do seep into room-temperature water. But he was startled to find that

when the containers were filled with boiling water—a common practice for climbers in cold climates—the BPA released 55 times as fast. His research, published in January in the journal *Toxicology Letters*, spurred alarm among not just water drinkers but also parents: 95% of baby bottles, which are routinely filled with hot water to make formula, are made of polycarbonates.

Scientists debate the effects of BPA, thought by some to damage reproductive systems when ingested in excessive

**'Your mouth leaves a film that harbors bacteria, and [the single-use] bottle is hard to clean.'**

—KELLOGG SCHWAB, JOHNS HOPKINS BLOOMBERG SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

amounts. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), which regulates bottled water, has declared PET and polycarbonate bottles safe. Nalgene Nunc, the Rochester, N.Y., company behind the Nalgene brand, attests to the safety of all its bottles—while also making clear that it offers products made of other materials (see below). The safest bet? Water from the tap—in a glass. ■

## Is Your Water Bottle Safe?

Here's what you need to know before you chug that H<sub>2</sub>O



**Single-Use PET**



**Polycarbonate**



**HDPE**



**Stainless Steel**

	Single-Use PET	Polycarbonate	HDPE	Stainless Steel
What it's made of	Polyethylene terephthalate, or PET, is a lightweight plastic used in many drink bottles	This thermoplastic polymer is used in many products, including water containers	High-density polyethylene is a softer, opaque plastic made from petroleum	These bottles are made of durable and light stainless steel inside and out
Potential problems	PET degrades with use, and wrinkled surfaces can host germs—as can backwash	Studies show polycarbonates can leach a potentially harmful synthetic hormone	Scientists and health advocates have reported no known problems with HDPE	Stainless steel doesn't leach or react. But avoid freezing or filling with hot water
Should I reuse this bottle?	No. Use it as it's intended: once. Recycle it or reimagine and reuse—as a flower vase	The FDA insists polycarbonate containers are safe, but some scientists disagree	Yes. Though less snazzy-looking than polycarbonate, HDPE containers are safe	Yes. Stainless steel rates up there with glass as a safe, reliable material. Drink up



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# Consider Your Options

Billions in stock grants are going down the drain, worthless. Are they still worth asking for?

MILLIONS OF STOCK OPTIONS GRANTED TO rank-and-file employees in the late 1990s are set to expire worthless in the next few years—a sobering reminder that when it comes to your compensation, there is no substitute for cash, and when it comes to your long-term financial security, there are no can't-miss lottery tickets.

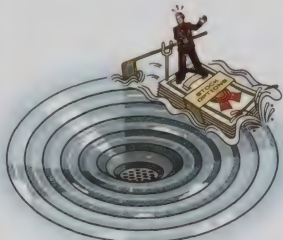
The total lost value by 2010 will be in the hundreds of billions of dollars, according to estimates from the National Center for Employee Ownership (NCEO). That stunning assessment helps quantify the dashed hopes of countless working stiffs who had been banking on options to help with goals like paying for the kids' college tuition and their own early retirement. In some cases, their options came in lieu of tangible rewards like a decent raise, profit-sharing or cash.

The harsh lesson, says Corey Rosen, executive director of the NCEO, "is to look at stock options differently going forward. You need to understand just how likely it is that these things will pay off." The answer for many right now: not very.

Here's the problem: stock options typically are granted on an annual basis, and with each set, you must use them or lose them within 10 years. They have cash-out value only when the stock has risen above the "strike price" (usually the price on the day of the grant) and after a typical vesting period of three or four years.

Historically, this has been a slam dunk. Option grants to top execs in the early and mid-'90s made them wealthy when the markets caught fire later that decade. In part to ward off criticism and

in part because options were seen as free money then, many CEOs shared the bounty with the rank and file. This was most often true in cash-strapped start-ups in Silicon Valley. But the equity-for-all ethos spread. Fewer than a million people held options at the start of the '90s, but the number swelled to 12 million in 2001. It stands at 9 million, and shrinking, today.



As it happens, the broadest distributions occurred from 1998 to 2001, a period marked by nosebleed stock valuations. The 10-year expiration on those grants is near, and the NASDAQ is still at just half its peak level, while the broader Standard & Poor's 500 has barely gotten back to even. Grants made in 2000 alone represent lost value of \$150 billion, with virtually no chance of recovery, says Ira Kay, an executive pay consultant at Watson Wyatt.

These losses are tough on all recipients, but the rank and file suffers most. Many top execs have been bailed out with supplemental grants and so-called reloads. What may be most interesting about this saga, though, is that after stock prices tumbled from 2000 to 2002 and another bull market was calving, broad-based stock option plans began to fade. Some 8 million workers received grants in 2000;

the number dropped to 3 million by last year, Kay says. The total value of grants has slipped by a third, says the NCEO.

Pay consultants say companies have returned to the old days of granting options, or restricted stock, only to big shots and stars. The NCEO estimates that the number of companies with broad-based plans has dropped to 3,000, from a peak of 4,000 a few years ago. As a result, says Kay, "morale problems are stewing." He warns that line workers understand the value of options when they are granted while the market is low. "They'll see this as a pay cut," he says, and it will infuriate them when CEOs start ringing the register again.

The equity culture is far from dead at privately held companies, where broad-based stock-ownership plans (ESOPs) are still popular and well funded. If you're changing jobs, keep that in mind. At public companies, meanwhile,

you can still command options or restricted shares if you are a top performer. "But most people should focus on their benefits, like a cash bonus, a raise and the 401(k) match," says David Broman, CEO of pay consultant Syzygy. "Companies are in the driver's seat."

Employee stock-purchase plans (ESPPs) are also thriving, and those cut out of options plans should consider agitating for an ESPP if their firm doesn't have one. An ESPP typically allows you to buy stock commission-free at a 5% discount from market.

If nothing else, says Kay, take solace in companies' willingness to expand their work-life-balance benefits, which is the newest thing in keeping an aging workforce happy. Unlike stock options, benefits such as flextime, telecommuting and concierge services are a sure thing. ■

**If you've gotten stock options in the past, they may not be a total bust. The market fell so hard that any options granted after 2001 may be in the money today**



# How Does the Garden Grow?

Eco-friendly, hopefully—but only if you take care to conserve water, use native plants and keep it organic

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GARDENS MAY BE GREEN—BUT THEY'RE not always eco-friendly. American lawns and gardens drink up  $H_2O$  at alarming rates, especially in the dry West, where more than 50% of residential water is used for landscaping. Chemical fertilizers and pesticides can damage the land as well. But xeriscaping (pronounced *zeer-i-skay-ping*), a term that means "dry landscaping," is becoming increasingly popular. "We're getting the message that homeowners aren't interested in environmentally irresponsible things," says Joel Lerner, founder of Maryland-based landscaping firm Environmental Design. Here's how you can have a garden that's green—in both senses of the word. ■

### HOW TO GREEN YOUR GARDEN

*Xeriscaping done right is sustainable and attractive, but accomplishing it requires a few additional steps*

#### Ration your turf

Grass takes water, so think about limiting your lawn to areas that really need it and covering heavily trafficked spots with decks or walkways. Pick a water-efficient grass too

#### Mulch away

Mulching—spreading material like wood chips or stone around plants—helps reduce evaporation, essential in xeriscaping

#### Count your drips

Even xeriscaped gardens need irrigation, especially in their early stages, but rarely as much as you think. Use a drip emitter, which supplies moisture more efficiently

#### Anoint your soil

Try adding 3 in. to 5 in. (8 cm to 13 cm) of organic material—like compost—to the top of your soil, then till it as deeply as possible to support growth



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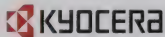
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—HANNAH BEECH, ON GRIDLOCK IN BANGKOK

# Global Business

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## PROFILE

**Re-Visionary.** Did ex-Vivendi boss Jean-Marie Messier get convergence right? It's starting to look that way

BY BRUCE CRUMLEY/PARIS

THE TRADEMARK TAN HAS DIMMED, and his voice softens when he recounts the tumultuous events surrounding his downfall as a corporate titan. But if former Vivendi Universal CEO Jean-Marie Messier no longer boasts the "master of the world" moniker, don't expect to find him repudiating his stint as an empire-building media tycoon either. "I still receive e-mails and get stopped in the street by young people saying 'You gave me the desire to form my own company,'" says Messier.

He followed that very desire in the months after his 2002 ejection from Vivendi in the depths of the tech bust. With the help of a borrowed office, he founded the New York City-based mergers-and-acquisitions advisory boutique Messier Partners. Says Messier, in one of the rare interviews he's given since he left Vivendi: "I don't manage large teams anymore that run businesses that you can't control or you can't be sure to get satisfaction from. I like advising CEOs, and I love helping them with negotiations."

Acquisition negotiation is something Messier, 51, knows a little bit about, having overseen some \$100 billion in M&A during his six years at Vivendi. Yet it is Messier's calamitous experience with the buzzy, fuzzy concept of convergence that has made him a player again. Just as in 2000, media and Web companies today talk of straddling a world in which users of any



**Second life**  
Messier's unhappy ending at Vivendi became valuable to media CEOs who sought his advice

device—mobile phone, laptop, PDA, TV—can command voice, data, video, entertainment and games on demand. Messier saw that coming—perhaps too soon.

Now he is seeing some vindication in the strategy. He demonstrated that in 2006 when he steered Publicis CEO Maurice Lévy to spend \$1.3 billion to buy online advertising and marketing specialist Digitas before that market got scalding hot. “We made a full screening of what was happening in the interactive-marketing media field, how it was going to impact [Publicis’] business and why they needed to make an early major move into that field,” says Messier. Since then, he points out, every large player has followed the trend: Google with DoubleClick, Yahoo! with Right Media, WPP with 24/7 Real Media, and Microsoft with aQuantive. “We were first in

as important as having occupied it.” A CEO knows his industry, so he is sick of seeing investment-banking teams come in and tell him he needs to buy a competitor he knows better than any of them,” says Messier—a dapper suit and ready smile being his only holdovers from Vivendi days. “I’ve been on both sides: the advisory and the entrepreneurial side. I know what you feel and what you ask yourself before you make a major strategic move. And I know how desperately you need to get your head above the day-to-day work and be given perspective.”

Messier got a lot of big-picture things right at Vivendi. Before its finances unraveled toward the end of 2001, the European powerhouse had staked out a strong base in the U.S. with assets such as Universal Studios and USA Network. The company’s formidable media and telecom presence

is significantly different from Messier’s.

Messier sought to assemble the complete media group whose affiliates all do business with one another. Now, says the Vivendi exec, “we’ve reinforced our media activities in key areas and allow our affiliates to do business with whatever companies fill their needs best—whether inside or outside the group.” Plug and play has supplanted media monolith. Still, Messier points to companies like News Corp. and Disney as examples of how big content providers continue to drive convergence.

Messier remains marked by the hostility and humiliation that swirled around him in his rapid transformation from star to villain. With his career and fortune in ruins, he recalls, his main “reason for waking up every morning was knowing my children were waiting for me to give them

**‘Vivendi had the correct vision: the conversion of broadband and wireless to bring any content to anyone, anywhere, anytime, on any handset. That is all reality now.’**

—JEAN-ARIE MESSIER, CEO, MESSIER PARTNERS



Overcovered boy The Vivendi boss was lauded for his synergistic vision, but he pushed it too far, too fast

online. Publicis was the only major player to have made an acquisition in this field at less than three times turnover [sales], whereas Google, Yahoo!, Microsoft had to fight for the remaining acquisitions with multiples of 10 to 12 times turnover.”

Messier also advised Merrill Lynch Global Private Equity and the New York City-based private equity firm Clayton, Dubilier & Rice in their \$5 billion purchase of the electronics firm Revel, and he counseled computer-services company Unilog in its \$1.1 billion sale to Britain’s Logica. Other clients include French heavyweights Lagardère, PPR and Schneider Electric.

Still, given the outcome of his leadership of Vivendi—a forced resignation as the company teetered, paralyzed by nearly \$35 billion in debt—one might suspect he’d be radioactive. If so, the toxic glow didn’t last long. “Soon after I created Messier Partners,” he says, “I was working with a big U.S. CEO, and I asked him why he’d chosen to work with me when he has all the major American investment banks at his feet. He said, ‘Jean-Marie, how could I trust the advice of someone who has only ever had success?’ To be able to give advice, you need to know the meaning of a decision and to have gone through ups and downs.”

Don’t expect a corner-office comeback. He says his distance from the C-suite is just

in Europe, meanwhile, allowed Messier to tantalize people with talk about how they’d soon be downloading music, sending photos and even watching video on mobile devices. Convergence of delivery and content, he promised, meant companies like his could offer it all. “Vivendi had the correct vision: the conversion of broadband and wireless to bring any content to anyone, anywhere, anytime, on any handset,” Messier says. “That is all reality now. Anyone who saw me as a foolish guy in 2001 is quiet today.”

True, but mobile phones didn’t deliver the promised goodies-enabled technologies on schedule, and consumers refused to align their media purchases for Vivendi’s benefit. Those are two reasons that Messier’s successors at Vivendi have sold off many of its media units, while other convergence players, like Time Warner (owner of TIME), are considering disaggregation. “The emphasis now is being the best in the media activities you’re focused on, not having all aspects of the sector covered,” says a Vivendi official who asks not to be identified. Indeed, though Vivendi recently reacquired control of French telecom Cegetel, which it sold after Messier’s departure, and is merging its games division with U.S. gamer Activision to create Activision Blizzard, the official says its strategy

some hope for the future because they couldn’t see their dad destroyed.”

Time and work—and a little help from business friends—have supported a comeback. Messier occasionally meets French President Nicolas Sarkozy—a man he’s known for 20 years and who “was one politician who never canceled any appointments” after the fall. Not surprisingly, he supports Sarkozy’s dynamic entrepreneurial efforts to reform French society—a kind of cultural revolution Messier attempted within French business circles at Vivendi.

Messier is optimistic that his friend will succeed where previous French leaders failed, but he isn’t ready to shift Messier Partners’ HQ from New York City to Paris just yet. “The U.S. is the country of the second chance—where there isn’t so much jealousy, and if you’ve had problems that you try to rebound from, everyone will applaud and will try to help,” Messier explains.

Convinced that the convergence wave is peaking anew, Messier says he’ll surf it by reminding clients how “vital it is to own their customers”—or face getting crowded out through “the increased dominance of Google.” Playing the role of strategist and adviser in that evolution may not involve the “master of the world” role, but it will allow Messier to test his vision without the career risk that was once Vivendi. ■





**Hurry up and wait** Too many vehicles, too few roads and not enough buses means the average car spends the equivalent of nearly 45 days a year stuck in traffic

## MEGACITIES

# The Capital of Gridlock. In Bangkok, every hour is rush hour. What it will take to unravel the city's epic traffic jams

BY HANNAH BEECH/BANGKOK

AS A BANGKOK TRAFFIC POLICEMAN, Phichet Wisetchoke carries the usual tools of his trade: a baton, a sheaf of tickets, a mask to repel smog—and a tiny umbilical cord clamp. Traffic in Thailand's capital snarls with such ferocity that hundreds of women over the past few years have been forced to give birth in cars. So the Royal Thai Traffic Police has trained 145 of its officers in basic midwifery. Phichet, who carries bundles of gauze and an aspirator to clear newborns' noses, has delivered nine babies in traffic—two in February alone. "I wanted to be a policeman because I thought it would be fun to catch bad guys," says Phichet, who has no children of his own. "But this is Bangkok, and the traffic is so bad, I have an even better job: bringing babies into the world."

And what a gridlocked world that is. Bangkok trumps Mexico City, Los Angeles and other megacities in its capacity to come to a standstill. Police don't consider traffic bad until a car is stationary for at least an hour. Really bad is two hours.

Some 5.7 million vehicles inch through Thailand's capital: trucks, tractors, buses, motorcycles, sedans, auto rickshaws and the occasional elephant. As an increasing number of Thais announce their arrival in the middle class with a gleaming new

car, more than 2,000 vehicles are added to Bangkok's roads each day. Yet only 4.4% of Bangkok's total area is paved, compared with 20% of many U.S. cities. Bangkok's city planners have tried to alleviate traffic with a public-rail network, but the subway and elevated Skytrain are sorely inadequate. The Skytrain, for instance, covers only downtown Bangkok and doesn't take commuters to the city center; an extension originally scheduled to open in 2002 still hasn't been finished. Each day, only 700,000 trips are made on Bangkok's rail system, compared with 6.5 million on public buses and 10 million in private vehicles. "Even if we build 100 more roads, it still won't be nearly enough," says Pharnu Kerdlarphong, deputy commissioner of the Bangkok Metropolitan Police. "We need a complete overhaul of Bangkok's transportation system, but there's no sign of that happening anytime soon."


**'I thought it would be fun to catch bad guys. But this is Bangkok, and the traffic is so bad, I have an even better job: bringing babies into the world.'**

—PHICHET WISETCHOKE,  
BANGKOK POLICEMAN

How did this metropolitan area of 10 million grind to a halt? Just a few decades ago, the Thai capital was a tropical outpost crisscrossed by canals and surrounded by rice paddies. By the 1970s, the city began to boom, in part because of an influx of American soldiers seeking R and R from the Vietnam War. Even back in 1972, with only 243,000 cars on the streets, Bangkok had trouble coping with all the new Buicks and Toyotas. As a stopgap solution, local planners paved over city canals. The result is a haphazard road network on which the average car spends the equivalent of nearly 45 days a year stuck in traffic. Even worse, the declining number of canals, which once served as reservoirs for rain, means that substantial portions of the city flood during the five-month-long wet season. The rising water invariably short-circuits traffic lights, turning intersections into free-for-alls.

The omnipresent traffic has changed the way Bangkok residents live—and wards off some foreign investors. To avoid the worst congestion, kids are often bundled into cars before dawn while they're still asleep. They arrive at school sometimes hours before the bell rings and eat breakfast and brush their teeth, all while parked meters from their school. Vendors tempt idled commuters with everything from doughnuts and cell-phone-card refills to garlands of jasmine—sometimes used as offerings to the





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**Massive transit** Efforts to expand Bangkok's rail and subway systems have been stymied by a political bureaucracy that moves at a pachydermal pace

gods of traffic. More than \$1 billion in productivity is lost every year to traffic jams. No surprise, then, that while reporting this story, I was late by nearly an hour to every interview because of traffic.

Late arrivals aside, most locals are remarkably sanguine about the gridlock. Road rage rarely erupts, perhaps because of a Buddhist equanimity that helps keep tempers in check. Packs of stray dogs have learned to nap between stopped cars on roadways that were ambitiously designed to accommodate 90 km/h (56 m.p.h.) travel. (The average pace during the morning rush hour is 15 km/h, or 9 m.p.h.) The only group that has admitted to feeling the pressure is traffic policemen. Last December, 1,200 of the city's 4,000 traffic cops participated in a therapy program called Let's Come Together and Laugh to Help Our Mental and Physical Health. Stress-relieving treatments included various smiling exercises, from teeth-baring grins to out-and-out guffaws. "Most other countries have fancy equipment to help with traffic," says deputy police commissioner Pharnu. "All we have is laughter."

With Thailand's economy predicted to rebound this year—ironically, a booming auto industry gets some of the credit—the congestion will probably only get worse.

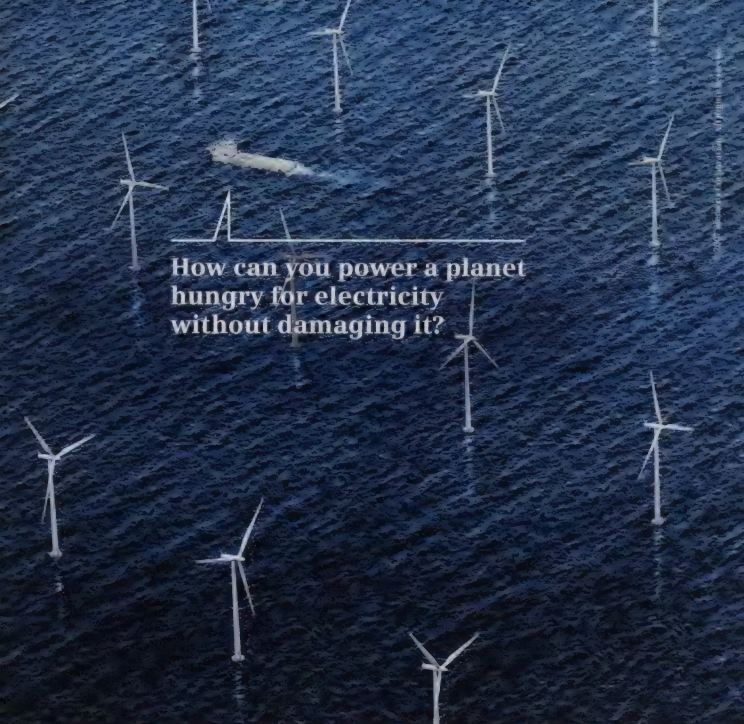
The one thing that has gotten better is air quality. Even a decade ago, working as a Bangkok traffic cop was considered hazardous because of the constant inhalation of exhaust fumes. Since then, the city has cleaned up. The amount of harmful small particulates in the air has decreased nearly 50%, in part because of a campaign to switch cars and buses from diesel to natural gas. That doesn't mean that the streets are pristine: only seven of the 60 so-called green roads in Bangkok were found to have safe air, according to a survey last year by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration.

For traffic to really improve, Bangkok will have to rely on a political bureaucracy that is, if anything, even more clogged than the city's streets. Each one of the seven governments in power over the past 15 years has come in promising to overhaul Bangkok's mass-transit system with dedicated bus lanes, railway extensions and park-and-ride facilities. Then, invariably, another group of leaders takes over and scraps the predecessors' plans. After the last coup, in 2006, the ruling military junta spent a year

whittling down the previous government's \$15 billion public transportation plan, arguing that it was too costly. The generals approved a more modest rail-network expansion last October. Elections two months later ushered in a new Prime Minister, Samak Sundaravej, who unveiled one more rail proposal in February. A former Bangkok governor who knows the city's traffic woes firsthand, Samak is calling for nine rail lines to be built within four years, at a cost of \$16 billion.

That could be another white elephant. There's also the matter of real ones. A few weeks ago, I was stuck in a taxi in a traffic jam that seemed so normal that I didn't even bother to see what was delaying us. Finally I glanced up. In front of us, wandering the wrong way through three lanes of stalled cars and trucks was a disconsolate pachyderm, its trunk held high to avoid breathing exhaust fumes. Bringing elephants to Bangkok is illegal. But the beast's handler was willing to risk a fine if it meant coaxing a few bananas and baht out of tourists. And what's a little more traffic in a city where gridlock is a way of life? ■





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In gear Chief engineer Mizuno, left, and chief designer Hasegawa with the Nissan GT-R

#### TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

## Revving Up Nissan. The design of its new supercar inspires a collaboration revolution at the Japanese automaker

BY COCO MASTERS/TOKYO

EMERGING FROM THE DRIVER'S SEAT OF A new Nissan GT-R at the Tokyo Motor Show last fall, CEO Carlos Ghosn flashed a wry grin and a custom-made Louis Vuitton suit. Ghosn's sharp look—a departure from his usual boardroom standard issue—suggested a calculated step up for Japan's No. 3 automaker. The GT-R—part luxury vehicle, part sports car—is Nissan's bid to compete head-on with Ferrari and Porsche. For a company that has built its brand on the 3.6 million reliable midrange vehicles it produces every year, that is no small ambition. Think *Ultraman* meets *Bond* in a car designed for everyman—everyman who has \$80,000 to spend. Building that car required Nissan to throw out much of its development know-how. Instead of a committee of Japanese engineers, Nissan put its faith in the creativity of a global team of engineers, designers and marketers. The GT-R is more than just a showpiece for gearheads, says Darren Cox, Nissan's brand-promotion manager in Paris: "The GT-R is a talisman from a product perspective but also a way of working."

While Ghosn called the shots, Kazu-

toshi Mizuno, chief vehicle engineer and chief product specialist, choreographed the GT-R's journey from a Japanese concept to Germany's famed Nürburgring racetrack, where it clocked 0 to 60 m.p.h. (100 km/h) in 3.2 sec., a wink faster than Porsche's GT3. "Mizuno was responsible for cherry-picking those he wanted to work with," says Hiroshi Hasegawa, chief designer of the GT-R. "Information cascaded from him." A veteran racing-system developer and director, Mizuno asked Ghosn to allow for a race-car development method. He started in December 2003, using early data on the GT-R concept to teach others how to reach the targets they would soon face in design. At that point, Mizuno says, he understood 120% of what needed to be

**'The process was not all sweetness and light. There were arguments and disagreements. It was very intense.'**

—SIMON SPOULE, NISSAN SPOKESMAN, ON THE CHALLENGE OF COLLABORATIVE CAR DESIGN

done, but "others knew zero." Nissan held a global design competition—a first for the company—to pare down submissions for the car from 80 designers. About eight months later, Mizuno put together an approximately 100-person global team to execute the final design, which came under the direction of a six-person steering committee led by Ghosn in the spring of 2006.

"The process was not all sweetness and light. There were arguments and disagreements," says Simon Sproule, a Nissan spokesman. "It was very intense but more so because everyone was interested in the car. It gets very emotional." Hasegawa points to conflict between the engineering and design teams but says, "Compared to a normal project, we were more strongly conscious of being members of a team," and adds that building the GT-R was their shared goal. Mizuno reduced that task to its four core elements: engine, transmission, suspension and body design. Nissan hopes to use the same structure for the design of its Z and Cube models.

The cross-company, cross-national teamwork that created the car is inspiring those who are selling it. Nissan's marketing team held global meetings at which, for example, a proposal from Europe to work with only a select number of GT-R dealers was picked up for Japan and, possibly, the U.S. (The GT-R was unveiled in Japan last October, and will launch in the U.S. in June and in Europe by March 2009.)

Conspicuously absent from the team is advertising. Nissan's nontraditional marketing plan for the GT-R includes viral video, *manga*, two documentaries and tie-in with Sony Computer Entertainment for an appearance in PlayStation's new *Gran Turismo 5*. The strategy is another signal of change: publicity generated marketing is common practice for brands like Aston Martin and Lamborghini.

While the GT-R is further proof of Nissan's global DNA—it is, after all, a Japanese company run by a Frenchman—Nissan has never deviated from keeping the GT-R's image rooted in Japan. (Ghosn's steering committee even toyed with the idea of linking the GT-R with Godzilla.) Mizuno often says that the car was born in Japan and raised in Germany. The GT-R, he says, is an expression of the Japanese *senpai-kohai* system, in which the more experienced teach their juniors. The GT-R team simply took that Japanese concept and exported it to build the car that Nissan—and, it hopes, luxury consumers—is waiting for. "Through the GT-R," Mizuno says, "all of Nissan can grow up."



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## CORPORATE STRATEGY

**Clean Goes Green.** Bleach boss Clorox aims to up its eco-cred—and sales—with natural products. Will it wash?

BY COELI CARR

SARAH GALLOP LIKES HER CLOTHING MADE of natural fabrics, house paints free of toxins and biocides, appliances efficient and home products eco-friendly. "My bottom line is my health," says the interior-design consultant, who lives in Santa Monica, Calif. But Gallop, 24, admits to coming up short in one area. "It's difficult to find green products that clean well."

This is the opportunity that Clorox Co. hopes to exploit with a natural cleaning line called Green Works, featuring products that it proclaims are biodegradable, are nonallergenic, are not tested on animals and—befitting a company whose name is synonymous with bleach—really give dirt a run for its money. "The challenge for us was to produce a natural cleaning product that actually worked as well as conventional ones and that you could deliver at a reasonable price," says Larry Peiros, Clorox's coo for North America. Last year the company's earnings increased 12%, to \$496 million on sales of \$4.8 billion, but its stock price has lagged the S&P 500.

Clorox's entry into this blossoming segment has created somewhat conflicting re-

actions. Rivals think the giant will make the category, not take it. "It's good news for us. Clorox can help educate the market," says Monica Nassif, founder of the Mrs. Meyer's Clean Day brand. She also thinks the company will help expand the availability of eco-friendly ingredients, like plant-based surfactants, from suppliers.

As for consumers, it all depends on your shade of green. Peiros acknowledges that Clorox's daring "to mainstream the idea of natural cleaners" has fueled a healthy amount of skepticism among consumers all too aware that Green Works was sired by a company that sells carbon-releasing Kingsford charcoal and petroleum-based

Glad bags, not to mention cat litter and even water filters. Karen Hernandez, a jewelry designer in Sarasota, Fla., who considers bleach a "necessary evil," says that given Clorox's product portfolio, she would not buy their green line of products. "Something's amiss that makes me feel uncomfortable about it," Hernandez says.

Peiros doesn't whitewash such public scrutiny, but he believes if the market wants green, there's no reason a trusted brand like Clorox can't provide it. "We're doing something that we think is the right thing for the business and society, and we'd love to be doing more of it over time," he says. "But we don't pretend we've converted ourselves." To up Clorox's eco-cred, the products will carry the logo of the Sierra Club (in return for a portion of sales). And to up its distribution, Clorox got Wal-Mart Stores to carry the entire line; so do a "very high percentage" of Clorox's other retailers. Cleaning is a \$3.4 billion category, says Tom Vierhile, director of research firm Datamonitor's ProductsCan Online. "The natural market is still a little niche," he says, "but the bigger companies perceive a high-growth area."

What does Green Works bring to the table? Clorox spent about \$20 million to develop the products—all-purpose, dilutable, bathroom, toilet-bowl and glass-and-surface cleaners. But perhaps most significant, Green Works products are priced at a 15% to 20% premium compared with conventional ones (suggested retail price for 32 oz. [1 L] of the all-purpose cleaner is \$3.39). "The prices are much lower than for products typically found in Whole Foods," Peiros says. "Consumers will be getting a great product at a cheaper price, so if I were one of those companies, I'd probably feel a little concerned."

Well, Larry, actually they don't. Alastair Dordard, CEO of Method Products, a San Francisco-based firm whose line of 150-plus household products grossed "well over \$100 million" in 2007, says the presence of Clorox will prompt people "to start to question whether the products they currently use are good for families and the environment." He likes his odds.

Michal Ann Strahilevitz, a professor of marketing at Golden Gate University in San Francisco who researches consumer interest in green, thinks Clorox's pursuing its core customer base—rather than trying to convert loyalists of other natural brands—is the smarter strategy. "Consumers come in different shades of green," she says. "Some are dark green, as in almost obsessive. But it's more typical for consumers to be light green, when the price they pay does not involve too much inconvenience or too much money." And that's exactly the way Clorox is shading it. ■

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# Arts



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## EXHIBIT

### **The Simple Life.**

The art market is in love with glitz. Maybe that's why artists are having an affair with the humble

*An Ideal Disjuncture, 2008* Ruben Ochoa

BY RICHARD LACAYO

THINK OF THE MOST THANKLESS JOBS OUT there. Slaughterhouse cleaner. Involuntary drug tester. Russell Crowe's assistant. Here's one that's worse: curator of the Whitney Biennial. Every two years, the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City attempts a survey of current trends among American artists across the U.S. and based abroad. Every two years, or just about, the whole thing gets terrible reviews.

In some ways this is inevitable. Compared with art's history, which is largely sorted out, the present is always a mess, full of dwarf stars and bit players. Any of-the-moment show is guaranteed to bring those in by the carload. It doesn't help that in some years the Biennial's organizers have had a weakness for the slapdash and infantile, and in others for the most school-marmish kind of political correctness.

Moreover, recent Biennials have had

to respond somehow to the provocation of a superheated art market. Even if gallery owners and collectors have gotten a little nervously lately, whistling past the twin graveyards of housing and stocks, money remains a force to be reckoned with. Month after month, deluxe aesthetic merchandise—the stainless-steel jewelry sculpture by Jeff Koons, those naughty-nurse paintings by Richard Prince—keeps rolling out of auction houses like so many hood ornaments.

One of the results of this is that the art world has reacted, producing in some quarters a deliberately low intensity art of humble materials and transient gestures. This is the quarter that the latest Biennial is coming from. The 2008 edition, which was organized by Whitney curators Henriette Huldish and Shamim M. Momin, has no official theme. But one of its unofficial themes is what the pair calls “lessness”—work that's less bombastic,

less puffed up and made with simple stuff.

Like a lot of people, I also hate what the market has done to the experience of art, substituting the verdict of cash for every other judgment. But when I first heard that this year's Biennial would be heavy on humble art, I winced. Small potatoes is a dish that the art world circles back to every decade or so, usually out of revulsion at a gluttonous market. The go-go gallery salesrooms of the 1960s led to the rise of deliberately unsalable performance art and earthworks. And the 1993 Biennial, the first to follow the Reagan-Bush era, featured work that its catalog solemnly promised “deliberately renounces success and power in favor of the degraded and the dysfunctional.”

And then there is today's wave of success-renouncing, degradation-favoring art, much of which takes the form of listless flotsam-assemblage sculpture, things built from chunks of Styrofoam, torn cardboard or bits of twisted wire. It's piled together with some measure of deliberation, but who can tell how much? Its heart may be in the right place, but it emits an awfully faint pulse.

So one question for this Biennial, which runs through June 1, and for art at large, is whether lessness can amount to more than that. Without question, there's a tumble-down, slacker spirit among some of the 81 artists that Huldish and Momin have selected. Yet they also chose just enough work in which the materials may be humble but the ambitions are larger. New York artist Heather Rowe has adapted ideas from the late Gordon Matta-Clark, who sawed entire houses into parts to expose their strange and poignant innards. Rowe builds her own wooden frameworks, embedded with shards of mirrors and bits of vagrant molding, that create memory mazes, which double as Minimalist sculpture.

Sculptor Ruben Ochoa, based in Los Angeles, operates in the great modernist tradition of junk assemblage that goes back to Picasso. Ochoa builds his work out of suitably despised things: broken concrete, rebar, chain-link fencing—the rubbishy stuff of construction sites. But he combines those elements to create ceiling-height formations that have a brutal grandeur. *An Ideal Disjuncture*, 2008, brings to mind the swells of Baroque form, but with materials so scrappy, they couldn't fall into the suave clichés of Baroque art if they tried.

Jason Rhoades was not one for small statements either. By the time he died of heart failure two years ago at the age of 41, he had built a reputation as a one-man barbaric yawp. His sprawling installations were teeming, swaggering, messy, obscene, obscure and beyond sexist. In

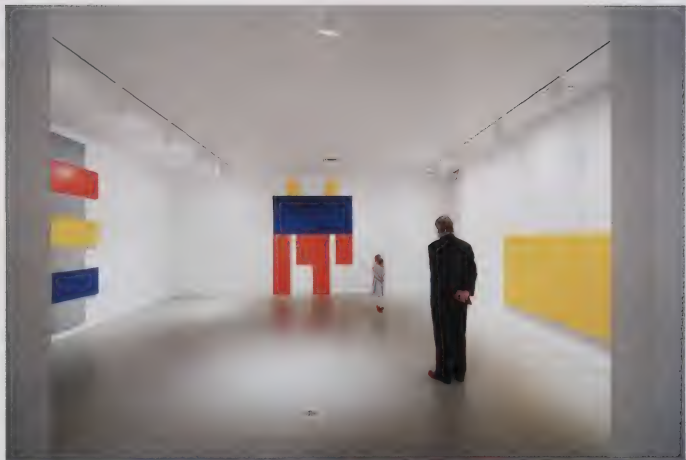


*Six Houses on Mound Street, 2006* Robert Bechtle



*The Grand Machine/THEAREOLA, 2002* Jason Rhoades





*Cavalry*, 2007 Joe Bradley

their superabundant way, they were also irresistible. His 2002 funfest, *The Grand Machine/THEAREOLA*, which gets its own spacious room at the Whitney, is a meditation on '70s porn star Marilyn Chambers incorporated into a sort of ramshackle karaoke-CD factory.

What you won't find much of in this Biennial is painting—one reason the show starts to feel parched after a while. So it was with gratitude that I came across 75-year-old Robert Bechtle. Forty years ago, he emerged as one of the first photo-realists. Working from slides that he projected onto canvas, he produced "photographic" scenes of suburbia at its most prosaic, or of San Francisco streets at their most matter-of-fact and unpicturesque. It's customary now to compare him with Edward Hopper. Like Hopper, Bechtle has a gift for finding the melancholy note in sunlight itself, as well as for the abstract underpinnings of the world. In *Six Houses on Mound Street*, 2006, with its stark cubes and fretwork of painted crosswalks, the workaday scene seems to be held in place by the guy-wires of some enigmatic order.

Then there are Joe Bradley's big bright canvases, such as *Cavalry*, 2007, which combine the resolutely abstract boxes and

rectangles of Minimalist and color-field painting into cartoon-character formations. It's a bit of an art-history joke, and one that sculptor Joel Shapiro played with more than 20 years ago in 3-D. But Bradley's ferocious colors and color contrasts give his work a weirdly commanding presence, one made weirder still by all those infantile silhouettes.

Where this year's Biennial goes out on a limb is in the decision to devote a separate venue to shared social experiences defined as artworks. These include a 24-hour dance marathon, a Gypsy-themed feast and a slumber party. Momin and Huldish say this kind of evanescent "event art" is another manifestation of the recoil from the market, and that it's so widespread across the U.S. that no survey show can ignore it. To accommodate this, for its first three weeks, the Biennial is spilling over to the Park Avenue Armory, a Victorian brick pile a few blocks from the museum that offers room after room of wood-paneled

chambers with brass chandeliers and mounted moose heads. In other words, it's a party space. In one of the oaky rooms, the Los Angeles artist Eduardo Sarabia has opened a tequila bar. He made the blue-and-white ceramic bar stand. He made the bottles. He even made the tequila. The press materials explain that it's not just a bar but an installation that "celebrates collaborative dialogue and community." In other words, a bar. You provide the hangover, your very own contribution to the "social performance" artwork.

Even evanescent events have a kind of art-history pedigree. Dada, the anti-art phenomenon that grew out of disgust for World War I, was as much a café phenomenon as it was an art movement. And more recently there has been Rirkrit Tiravanija, the Thai artist best known for cooking and serving meals for visitors at his gallery shows, at which the art was the shared experience of the meal. To serve and nourish, and to reflect on it while you are doing it, in a world that's gotten used to performance art—maybe that can be art too. But to party? We'll see. I've practiced that art myself. I had a great time, but I doubt that I did anything memorable. Or if I did, I can't remember it. ■



#### Steady Art Beat

Check out a video view of the Whitney Biennial hosted by Richard Lacayo at [time.com](http://time.com)

BOOKS

# Whirled Peace. Nicholson Baker reorganizes the history of World War II. Is he saying we weren't the good guys?

BY LEV GROSSMAN



ON SEPT. 4, 1939, 29 BRIT-  
ish planes set out to bomb  
battleships in the German  
port of Wilhelmshaven.  
The weather wasn't very  
good. Some of them  
bombed Wilhelmshaven,  
but some of them got lost  
and unloaded on Esbjerg instead, where  
there weren't any battleships and which,  
more to the point, is in Denmark. A woman  
was killed while making dinner.

This forlorn, tragicomic event appears  
in an extraordinary new book called  
*Human Smoke* (Simon & Schuster; 566  
pages), an experiment in retelling the  
story of World War II using only brief an-  
ecdotes and snippets of primary sources—  
quotations, diaries, speeches, newspaper  
articles—placed in chronological order  
with a minimum of historical commen-

tary. *Human Smoke* begins, for example,  
with a remark made by Alfred Nobel in  
August 1892: "On the day when two army  
corps may mutually annihilate each other  
in a second, probably all civilized nations  
will recoil with horror and disband their  
troops." The dramatic irony is rich.

The roving archival eye that selected  
and arranged these snippets is attached to  
the remarkable brain of novelist and critic  
Nicholson Baker. Baker occupies a curious  
position in American letters: part genius,  
part crank. His best works—his novels *The  
Mezzanine* and *A Box of Matches*, and *U and I*, his book-length study of John Updike—  
contain passages so beautifully observed  
and perfectly formed that they stick in  
the mind for years. His lesser works—the  
sweaty, oversharing sexursions *Vox* and  
*The Fermata* and his tetchy political rant  
*Checkpoint*—contain passages you could  
spend years trying to forget.

We get a bit of both Bakers in *Human*

*Smoke*. Consider the loupe-eyed precision  
with which he recounts this atrocity:

*A German police battalion arrived at the  
shtetl of Sudilkov, in the Ukraine. The policemen  
led several hundred people to a bomb crater out-  
side the town and shot them. The victims fell in-  
to the crater. A woman, unharmed, climbed out  
and sat on the edge, crying. A soldier shot her,  
and she fell back in. It was August 21, 1941.*

It's like a Goya etching in prose.

But Baker isn't interested in just chang-  
ing the way we write history; he wants to  
change our minds about what happened  
and what should have happened. He shows  
us a vain, bloodthirsty Winston Churchill  
overeager to wage war and not overly  
particular about bombing civilians. He  
shows us Franklin D. Roosevelt turning  
away European refugees and baiting the  
Japanese before Pearl Harbor. As a coun-  
terweight, Baker spotlights international  
pacifist movements, with Mohandas Gan-  
dhi as their principal spokesperson. Ulti-  
mately Baker appears to be making the  
argument that no violence is ever justifi-  
able, even in self defense, and that, in Gan-  
dhi's words, "Hitlerism and Churchillism  
are in fact the same thing. The difference  
is only one of degree."

I say *appears* because as vivid and viscer-

PEACE  
OF  
MIND

FOR  
YOUR  
FAMILY



Power couple F.D.R., left, and Churchill discuss the future of Germany, circa 1944-45

al as *Human Smoke* is, it has a maddeningly slippery quality. In presenting bare facts unadorned by any commentary, *Human Smoke* cloaks itself in an aura of limpid, virtuous purity. But beneath that cloak, things get a little murky because in presenting the facts as he does, Baker is making an argument that he doesn't explicitly state. Does he really believe—as he seems to—that aerial bombing is on a moral continuum with Nazi genocide? And that Adolf Hitler's hatred of Jews is comparable to Churchill's hatred of the Germans and Japanese? (We get Mrs. Churchill calling them "Nazi hogs" and "yellow Japanese lice" in a letter?) Or that the world would be a better place if—delirious fantasy—Europe had met German aggression with nonviolent resistance? I mean, if you're going to *strongly imply* that England should have made peace with Hitler, you might as well just come out and say it.

It's hard to argue with somebody who won't argue. It's almost like there's an unspoken analogy at work between Gandhi's nonviolence and Baker's noncommentary: Baker declines to take up arms in support of his thesis, as if to do so would be to commit rhetorical violence against the facts. But facts, even tragic ones, require context and interpretation. They don't speak for themselves. That's why we need historians. ■



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A settlement has been reached with The TJX Companies, Inc. and Fifth Third Bancorp ("Defendants") in a class action lawsuit about the computer system intrusions into personal and financial information at TJX retail stores. The settlement provides benefits to those shoppers who may have been damaged in some way.

The United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts will have a hearing to decide whether to give final approval to the settlement, so that the benefits can be issued. Those included have legal rights and options, such as excluding themselves from or objecting to the settlement. Eligible Class members can submit a claim for benefits from the settlement. Get a detailed notice at [www.TJXsettlement.com](http://www.TJXsettlement.com).

## Who's INCLUDED?

The Class includes everyone in the United States, Puerto Rico and Canada who made a purchase or return at a T.J. Maxx, Marshalls, T.J. Maxx 'n More, Marshalls MegaStore, The Maxx, HomeGoods, A.J. Wright, Winners or HomeSense, believe their personal or financial data was stolen or placed at risk of being stolen from TJX's computer systems, and think they were damaged from it. This includes those who made returns without a receipt and were previously notified by TJX that their name, address and driver's license or military, state or tax identification number were compromised.

## WHAT DOES THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDE?

If you've been notified by TJX that your driver's license or military, state or tax identification number was compromised: (a) you could get 3 years of credit monitoring with \$20,000 in identity theft insurance; (b) you could be reimbursed for the cost of replacing your driver's license between January 17, 2007 and June 30, 2007; and (c) if your driver's license or military, state or tax identification number was your social security number, you can get paid for unreimbursed expenses exceeding \$60 from related identity theft between January 17, 2007 and April 12, 2008. If you used your credit card, debit card or check at a TJX store between December 31, 2002 and September 2, 2003 or May 15, 2006 and December 18, 2006, and you have had out-of-

pocket costs above \$5 and/or lost time between January 17, 2007 and June 30, 2007 stemming from the intrusion(s), you can get one or two vouchers, depending on your documentation, for credit on purchases at the TJX stores in the amount of \$30 each (i.e., up to \$60 in total in vouchers) or checks in the amount of \$15 each (i.e., up to \$30 in total by check). TJX will also hold a future, one-day, special event reducing prices on all merchandise by 15% at the TJX stores listed here, available to all shoppers making purchases on the day of the special event. The settlement

also confirms steps TJX has taken to strengthen the security of its computer systems. The settlement does not mean the Defendants violated any laws or did anything wrong. The Defendants deny any claims of wrongdoing in this case.

## HOW DO YOU ASK FOR BENEFITS?

Eligible Class Members can call 1-866-523-6770 or go to the website for a claim form, then fill it out, sign it, include the documentation it requires, and mail it to the address on the form. Please note that there are different deadlines for different benefits. The earliest deadline for benefits is **May 29, 2008**.

## YOUR OTHER OPTIONS.

If you don't want to be legally bound by the settlement, you must exclude yourself by **June 24, 2008**, or you won't be able to sue, or continue to sue, the Defendants

about the legal claims this settlement resolves, ever again. If you exclude yourself, you can't get any benefits from the settlement. If you stay in the settlement Class, you may object to it by **June 24, 2008**. The detailed notice explains how to exclude yourself or object.

The Court will hold a hearing in this case, known as *In re TJX Companies Retail Security Breach Litigation*, No. 07-10162, MDL No. 1838, on **July 15, 2008**, to consider whether to approve the settlement, and a request by Class Counsel for fees of up to \$6,500,000, and costs and expenses of up to \$150,000. You or your own lawyer may ask to appear and speak at the hearing at your own cost, but you don't have to. For more information, go to the website shown below.

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## Downtime



### 5 Things You Should Know About. A silky smooth Yo-Yo, a tender Horton and Randy Jackson's new club



#### MOVIES

**Dr. Seuss' Horton Hears a Who!** Directed by Jimmy Hayward and Steve Martino; rated G; out now  
The classic story of a kindhearted elephant gets a spiffy expansion in this CGI feature from Blue Sky Studios (*Ice Age*). The voice talent is excellent: Jim Carrey as Horton, Steve Carell as the mayor of tiny Who-ville and Carol Burnett as a bossy, oddly Hillary-like kangaroo. A treat for the eye, a cartoon event, this film is delightful, 100%. **A-**



**Funny Games** Directed and written by Michael Haneke; rated R; out now

Two pleasant young men (Michael Pitt and Brady Corbet) drop by the vacation home of a nice family (Naomi Watts, Tim Roth, Devon Gearhart) and subject everyone to a night of psychological terror. Haneke's shot-by-shot remake of his notorious Austrian original is both an elegant essay on film violence and one of the most annoying movies ever made. **B**



#### MUSIC

**Chicago Symphony Orchestra** *Silk Road Ensemble Traditions and Transformations*; out now  
Kipling was wrong; the twain do meet in the Asian-Western explorations of Yo-Yo Ma's Silk Road Ensemble. Here the pi-pa (an ancient Chinese lute) is featured in a spry concerto by an American composer, and Ma saws soulfully not only on the cello but also on the Mongolian horsehead fiddle. This kind of thing could give multiculturalism a good name. **B**



**Randy Jackson** *Randy Jackson's Music Club*; out now

Yup, it's that Randy Jackson—and it's that Paula Abdul too, singing (O.K., murmuring) over a vaguely contemporary dance beat. Jackson gets points for packing his impresario album with solid B-listers (John Rich, Ghostface Killah, Richie Sambora) from lots of genres but loses all the points for making everyone sound similarly dull. **C**



#### DVD

**Antonio Gaudi** Directed by Hiroshi Teshigahara; unrated; available March 18

Barcelona-based Gaudi translated nature into triumphant art. The sensuous curves of his buildings, parks and magnificent unfinished cathedral renounced right angles for tree-shaped columns and sea-urchin gargoyles. This dvd set includes a 1984 documentary in which Teshigahara (*Woman in the Dunes*) creates a visual poem that captures the Gaudi rapture and a fine 1993 doc by former *TIME* art critic Robert Hughes. **A-**

#### TEST RUN

### How Crafty Are They?

The promise of craft books is wholesome fun. The premise of these books is that they come with all that your kids need (no glue sticks). Do they deliver?



#### Mermaid's Palace

(Chicken Socks, \$14.95). Make a mermaid's home, furnish it with the punch-out bed and sea creatures, then accessorize your mermaid with shells and pearls. A little too fiddly for kids under about 7, and clean-up's a cow, but pretty engrossing. **B-**



#### Flip Books

(Klutz, \$14.95). The template for a cute little flip book is provided. Young Spielbergs draw in a few details, clip it together, et voilà! This is that rare craft book that boys 10 and older will enjoy. Parental intervention is needed for ripping the papers (carefully), but that's all. **B**



#### Short Stuff

(Chicken Socks, \$16.95). Even little hands can play God and make their own stuffed animals. It's all about felt and Velcro—no sewing. For kids over 6, this will be pretty simple, though it's fun figuring out what to do with the creature. Science experiments? **B+**







Nancy

# Gibbs

## The New Road to Hell. The Vatican reflects on its mortal sins for the modern age. Want salvation? Pick up your trash

THERE WAS A CERTAIN BRACING BEAUTY ABOUT THE original seven deadly sins—pride, gluttony, melancholy (which was dropped in the 17th century in favor of sloth), lust, greed, envy and anger—which among them could account for virtually all the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind. Anger gives rise to violence; gluttony to waste; pride to every manner of tragedy and hurt. They were judged sufficient for the past 15 centuries, ever since they were cataloged by Pope Gregory the Great, with an assist from Thomas Aquinas and Dante.

But not anymore. "We are losing the notion of sin," Pope Benedict XVI warns, as attendance at confession plummets. The culture celebrates what once it sanctioned: parents encourage pride as essential to self esteem; a group of self-rising French chefs has petitioned the Vatican that being a gourmand is no sin. Envy is the engine of tabloid culture. Lust is an advertising strategy; anger, the righteous province of the aggrieved. Most days I'd give anything for some sloth. It was the moral philosopher Mae West who observed that "to err is human, but it feels divine." (She also advised, "When choosing between two evils, I always like to try the one I never tried before.")

So one can understand the impulse of the Vatican to stress a broader range of sins for the modern age. Gianfranco Girotti, the No. 2 Catholic official in charge of confessions and penitence, told the Vatican's newspaper, "You offend God not only by stealing, blaspheming or coveting your neighbor's wife" but also by polluting, cloning, taking drugs, promoting social injustice or becoming obscenely rich. Where the standard sins are individual failings, in a global culture sin is social. "Attention to sin is a more urgent task today," Girotti said, "precisely because its consequences are more abundant and more destructive."

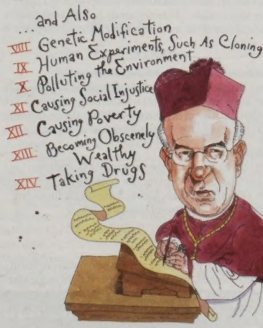
The bishop suggested that the realm of biotechnology was especially dangerous, which reflects church teaching that destroying an embryo equates with murder.

But the original mortal sins had as much to do with attitudes as with acts. Greed might lead to theft, lust to adultery, but the sin began in the heart. Yet modern research does not seem wicked to many suffering patients or the doctors who hope to cure them; the church's sin is their salvation. Likewise the accumulation of excessive wealth: leave aside the historical irony of this charge issuing from the Vatican. What do we make of Bill Gates, the Great Acquisitor, who, as a philanthropist, is now arguably the greatest individual force for good around the world? Does it not seem as if he has grasped the eternal somewhere along the way?

Then there is the question of punishment. In Dante's purgatory, the punishment for envy was to have your eyes sewn shut with iron wire. But these were personal punishments for individual crimes. When societies sin—dismissing the poor, despoiling the planet—who, exactly, should pay, and how? I am responsible for the lies I tell or the fries I crave and have a duty to give to the poor. But what about social injustice? How do I dissect the sources to find the sin? I try not to litter, but I have to drive. Am I a sinner on days I fail to carpool?

This is the most confounding part of the notion of social sin. Sin, unlike crime or folly, is a spiritual notion: for Muslim or Jew or Christian, sin is the saboteur that keeps us from grace, separates us from God. The new

list is about what separates us from one another; it makes abstract the failings that once were intimate and in the process may make sin smaller, not bigger or more relevant. Private faith already speaks to public duty, as Mohandas Gandhi suggested with his version of the seven deadly sins: "Wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, science without humanity, knowledge without character, politics without principle, commerce without morality and worship without sacrifice." The responsibility rests with the individual, but that includes the duty to take care of others as well as your own soul. ■





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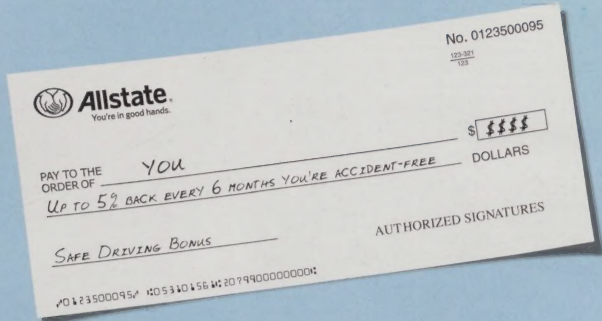
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